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Tomb of Sir Ralph Sadleir,

IN

STANDON CHURCH, HERTFORDSHIRE.

AND THE POLE OF THE ROYAL STANDARD OF SCOTLAND WHICH IT IS SUPPOSED HE CAPTURED AT THE BATTLE OF PINKIE, 1547.

A MEMOIR

OF

THE LIFE AND TIMES

OF THE

RIGHT HONOURABLE SIR RALPH SADLEIR,

Knight Banneret; Privy Councillor to their Majesties Henry VIII., Edward VI., and Queen Elizabeth for forty years; Principal Secretary of State; Ambassador to Scotland, and sometime Guardian of Mary Queen of Scots; Master of the Grand Wardrobe; Chancellor of the Duchy of Lancaster; &c., &c.

COMPILED FROM STATE PAPERS BY HIS DESCENDANT,

MAJOR F. SADLEIR STONEY,

ROYAL ARTILLERY.

"Sir Ralph Sadleir saw the interest of the State altered six times, and died an honest man; the crown put upon four heads, yet he continued a faithful subject: religion changed, as to the public constitution of it, five times, yet he kept the faith."—LLOYD, "*Statesmen and Favourites of England.*"

LONDON:

LONGMANS, GREEN, & Co.

1877.

PREFACE.

Sir Ralph Sadleir, like his colleague Lord Burghley, retained all important letters which he received, and copies of those he sent. These documents were preserved by his descendants, and some of them were published in Edinburgh in 1720, under the title of "Letters and Negotiations of Sir Ralph Sadler, Ambassador of King Henry VIII. of England to Scotland;" but a more complete series was published by his descendant, Arthur Clifford, in 1809, entitled "The State Papers and Letters of Sir Ralph Sadler, Knight Banneret," to which was added a brief "Memoir of Sir Ralph Sadler, with Historical Notes, by Walter (afterwards Sir Walter) Scott, Esq."* Since then (in 1830) a Royal Commission was appointed to arrange and publish the national collections of State Papers; and those concerning Henry VIII.'s reign were accordingly published *in extenso*, and include several letters and documents which throw a great deal of additional light on Sadleir's career.

From these original sources, principally, I compiled, or rather strung together, the following pages; and I trust I have produced an authentic

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* Sir Walter Scott's memoir of Sir Ralph Sadleir is the longest account of him hitherto published; yet it is very brief, and though charmingly written it contains several errors, while the information it gives on several important points is very scanty indeed. By the help of the State Papers published since Walter Scott's time, I have been able to supply the deficiencies to a great extent. For example: Scott writes, "As Sadleir daily advanced in the King's favour, he became, though at what time I cannot say, Clerk of the Hanaper, one of the Gentlemen of the Privy Chamber, and received the honour of knighthood;" whereas in the following pages not only the approximate dates but the special circumstances under which these several appointments and distinctions were received will be found recorded. Again, Scott says, with reference to Sadleir's gallant conduct at the battle of Pinkie, 1547, "I have discovered no trace of Sir Ralph Sadleir's being employed during the rest of Edward's short reign;" but Chapter XIV. details the part he took in Gardiner's committal to the Tower, the suppression of Ket's rebellion, the execution of Lord Seymour, the deposition of the Duke of Somerset, and finally shows that he was one of those who subscribed Northumberland's "device."

outline of a most interesting period of English and Scotch history, as well as a connected narrative of the life of a celebrated Statesman whose biography has never hitherto been written, and whose memory ought to be held in high estimation by his countrymen of all ages; for no man ever lived who contributed individually more to the union of England and Scotland into the one glorious Kingdom of Great Britain, than Sir Ralph Sadleir.

I offer no apology for placing my illustrious ancestor in the prominent position he is justly entitled to amongst the English Statesmen of the sixteenth century; nor do I think it necessary to apologise for filling in the background with important scenes from such a fascinating epoch of national history; but for the inartistic manner in which the picture is painted I hold up my unskilled hands as a suppliant, and crave the reader's pardon.

F. S. S.

Woolwich,
May, 1877.

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LIFE AND TIMES OF SIR RALPH SADLEIR.

CHAPTER I.

INTRODUCTORY.—THE EARLY PART OF HENRY VIII.'S REIGN.

Sir Ralph Sadleir was born in 1507—two years before Henry VIII. ascended the throne—and died eighty years afterwards, in the twenty-ninth year of Queen Elizabeth's reign. His life is interwoven with nearly all the great events of his country's history which occurred in that interval; for just as Queen Katharine's celebrated divorce and the Reformation of the Church commenced to agitate England, Sir Ralph appeared in an important official character,* and he did not quit the political stage, except during Queen Mary's short reign, until the Queen of Scots had been beheaded and the Spanish Armada was threatening our shores. But before I withdraw the curtain from the opening scene, I must sketch the antecedent history of the drama, and give, too, at the same time, some idea of the manners and customs of the period.

The wars of the rival roses of York and Lancaster having deluged England with blood in the fifteenth century, the succeeding generation of her rulers and statesmen resolved if possible to secure undisputed possession to the throne, and consequently peace to the people. The marriage of the English monarch became therefore a matter of great importance, not only that he might leave an "heir male of his body" to the crown, but also that his power might be increased in a political point of view; indeed at the time I treat of, every potentate in Europe endeavoured to strengthen his hands by a matrimonial alliance, and statesmanship, for the most part, resolved itself into royal match-making.

Henry VII., founder of the House of Tudor, had great faith in political marriages. As soon as he had snatched the crown from his Yorkist antagonist on Bosworth field, he sought the hand of Elizabeth of York, although he hated the whole of her race from the bottom of his heart;† but his personal feelings were nothing in comparison to his

* Secretary to Lord Cromwell, and soon afterwards Gentleman of the King's Privy Chamber, from which he rose in a few years to be Secretary of State.

† "Though Elizabeth," says Lord Bacon, "was beautiful, gentle, and fruitful, he showed himself no very indulgent husband to her; for his aversion to the House of York was so predominant in him, as it found place not only in his wars and councils but in his chamber and bed."

political interests, and by this marriage he rendered his right to the throne secure by law as well as by conquest, and blended the red and white roses in harmony.

Of the fruit of this union, Arthur, the eldest son, married Katharine, Princess of Arragon, and when he died, his younger brother, Henry, was affianced to her. Margaret, the eldest daughter, was married to King James IV. of Scotland—a marriage which ultimately led to the union of the two kingdoms; while the remaining child, Mary, was betrothed to Charles, Prince of Castile, and grandson of the Emperor Maximilian.

Henry VIII. succeeded to the throne in 1509. He was then only nineteen, and had, thanks to his father's politic marriage and extermination of "pretenders," an undisputed title to the throne; and, thanks, too, to his father's miserly disposition, he inherited a private fortune of about a million and a half pounds—a colossal sum in those days—which, as became the King of "Merrie England," he spent with a free hand on banquets, tournaments, and gorgeous pageants.

In person, Henry was tall and robust, and when arrayed in the rich robes of purple and gold—which, according to the sumptuary laws of dress then in vogue, none but royalty could wear—and mounted on a richly caparisoned charger, he presented a most imposing appearance and looked every inch a king.*

His natural talents were considerable—being quick, shrewd, and sagacious. His mind was capacious, and powerful for good or evil. His education—in which languages and theology found prominent place—was really sound and extensive. This he owed to the fact that his father intended to make him Archbishop of Canterbury, and provided him from his earliest boyhood with the ablest preceptors, including the clever and erudite Erasmus.†

From his very youth Henry appears to have been flattered and made much of, and having come to an almost despotic throne while

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* Hall thus describes Henry VIII., as he appeared, "mounted on a goodly charger, trapped in rich cloth of gold," at the meeting with Anne of Cleves, on Blackheath:—

"His person was apparelled in a coat of purple velvet, somewhat made like a frock, all over embroidered with flat gold of damask, with small lace mixed between of the same gold, and other laces of the same so going traverswise that the ground little appeared; about which garment was a rich guard very curiously embroidered, the sleeves and breast were cut lined with cloth of gold, and tied together with great buttons of diamonds, rubies, and orient pearls. His sword and girdle were adorned with stones and especial emeralds. His nightcap was garnished with gems, but his bonnet was so rich of jewels that few men could value them. Besides all this, he wore in baldrick wise a collar of such balystes and pearl that few ever saw the like. And notwithstanding that this rich apparel and precious jewels were pleasant to behold, yet his princely countenance, his goodly personage, and royal gesture so far exceeded all others present, that in comparison of his person all his rich apparel was little esteemed."

† The idea of Henry VIII. as Primate and perhaps Pope may provoke a smile; but had the idea been carried out, he would probably have stayed the Reformation with fire and sword, and might possibly have been canonised by the Romish Church.

still in his teens, it was only natural that he exhibited in afterlife a hasty and capricious temper. But he nevertheless possessed many noble instincts—the elements of a right royal nature. He was open, brave, and generous, and encouraged those qualities in others. He loved manliness and hated meanness. As a king, he laboured most assiduously in State affairs, held the honour of England dear to his heart, and feared neither pope nor kaiser. His ministers had evidently a high appreciation of his administrative powers, whilst amongst his subjects in general, "Bluff King Hal," who mixed with the people and joined in their village sports, was eminently popular.

Katharine of Arragon, as she is commonly called, was daughter of Ferdinand, King of Arragon, and Isabella, Queen of Castile. Being great granddaughter of the Duchess of Lancaster, she had royal English blood in her veins, and in appearance she was more English than Spanish.* When hardly two years old she was affianced by her parents to Prince Arthur, who was even younger than herself. Accordingly when she reached sixteen (1501) she left the stately halls of the Alhambra—where, amid the picturesque scenery of Granada, her girlhood had passed—and came to her new home in the cold north. A few weeks after her arrival in England, Katharine was married to Arthur with great pomp in Old St. Paul's. But their wedded life was not of long duration; Prince Arthur died before six months, and soon afterwards his young widow became the subject of a fresh matrimonial scheme. Ferdinand and Isabella now thought it expedient that their daughter should marry Henry, the new Prince of Wales. A dispensation from the Pope could nullify her previous marriage with his brother, the moiety of her large fortune which had been already paid would not be thrown away, and she might still be Queen of England. The other half of the fortune was not to be despised, and an alliance with Spain was as desirable as ever, Henry VII. therefore consented to the new arrangement. Katharine and young Harry accordingly became engaged, and, as the modern phrase is, were thrown much together, at Eltham, Greenwich, and Richmond. But just before the prince came of age (fifteen) he repudiated the contract, at the instance of "that wilye fox" his father, who had in the meantime set his widowed affections on Katharine's sister, and anxiously wished to espouse her. Katharine, however, adhered to the treaty, which had been duly signed by both monarchs. She was fond of the tall and comely heir to England's crown, and did not suffer him to lose sight of her.

Henry VII. died in April, 1509, and on the 23rd day of the same month Henry VIII. was proclaimed King, "with muche gladnesse and rejoysing of the people."

Maximilian was then Emperor of Germany, Louis XII. King of

* There is a portrait of her at Knole Park, Kent.

France, Ferdinand was still King of Arragon and Castile, and James IV. (to whom Henry's sister Margaret had been married five years previously), reigned in Scotland.

The population of England and Wales was about five millions, while that of London did not exceed two hundred thousand. Beef was a half-penny a pound, beer a farthing a quart, port wine a shilling a gallon, and the farmer only paid a couple of shillings per acre as the yearly rent of his land.

At this time Henry was in his nineteenth year, and Katharine in her twenty-fifth. They had not lost sight of one another, and now while politicians debated on the propriety of a marriage between them, they themselves quietly settled the point by entering the unpretending Franciscan chapel at Greenwich, on the 11th of June (1509), and getting married privately. It soon, however, became known to the public, and grand preparations were made for the coronation of the new King and Queen, which took place on the 23rd of the June month in Westminster Abbey. All went merry as a marriage bell at the English Court for the next few years, and the old King's hoardings were spent in maskings, tournaments, and pageants. Hall's graphic descriptions of these displays shew how costly they were, and throw a light on the fashions and customs of the day. The following is an abridged account of a pageant:—

"The Queen, with the ladies, repaired to see the jousts, the trumpets blew up, and in came many a nobleman and gentleman richly apparelled, after whom followed certain lords apparelled, they and their horses, in cloth of gold and russet tinsel, the knights in cloth of gold and russet velvet. And a great number of gentlemen on foot in russet satin and yellow, and yeomen in russet damask and yellow, every man with scarlet stockings and yellow caps. Then came the King, under a pavilion of cloth of gold and purple velvet, embroidered and powdered with H. and K. of fine gold, the compass of the pavilion above embroidered richly, and valenced with flat gold beaten into wire, with an imperial crown on the top of fine gold. After, followed his three aydes, every of them under a pavilion of crimson damask and purple powdered with H. and K. of fine gold. * * * * * Then there was a device or pageant upon wheels brought in, out of which issued a gentleman (the King) richly apparelled, that showed how in a garden of pleasure there was an arbour of gold wherein were lords and ladies much desirous to shew pleasure and pastime to the Queen and her ladies. The Queen having desired to see them, the great cloth of arras in front was taken away and the pageant brought more near. It was curiously made and pleasant to behold; it was solemn and rich, for every post or pillar thereof was covered with fine gold. Therein were trees of hawthorn, eglantine, roses, vines, and other pleasant flowers of diverse colours, with gillofers and other herbs, all made of satin, damask, silver, and gold, according as the natural trees, herbs, or flowers ought to be. In the arbour were six ladies in white satin and green, set and embroidered full of H. and K. in gold, all their garments replenished with glittering spangles: on their heads were

bonnets, &c., &c.* In this garden also was the King and five with him, apparelled in garments of purple satin, all of cuts with H. and K., every edge of gold, and every garment full of posies made of letters of fine gold in bullion as thick as might be. After the King and his companions had danced, he appointed the ladies, gentlemen, and the ambassadors to take the letters of their garments, in token of liberality, which thing the common people perceiving, ran to the King and stripped him into his hose and doublet, and all his companions likewise. Sir Thomas Knevit stood on a stage, and for all his defence lost his apparel. The ladies were likewise spoiled, wherefore the King's guard came suddenly and put the people back, or else more inconvenience had ensued. So the King and the Queen and the ladies returned to his chamber, where they had a great banquet, and all these hurts were turned to laughing and game, and they thought that all that was taken away was but for honour and *largesse*, and so this triumph ended with mirth and gladness. At this banquet a shipman of London,† caught certain letters which he sold to a goldsmith for £3. 14s. 8d., by reason whereof it appeared that the garments were of great value."‡

The pageant thus described was only one of a series of magnificent spectacles which took place at Westminster in February 1511, in honour of the young heir to the throne, who had been born on the new year's day; but alas, the royal joy was soon turned into mourning by the death of the infant prince, who probably caught a chill at his elaborate christening.§

Much as his mother grieved for him, she would have deplored his death more deeply could she have but looked into the dark future awaiting her.

In 1513, Henry VIII. went to war with France, on account of the English possessions in that country. It was during this campaign he won the "battle of the spurs" (so called from the racing speed with which, in spite of the chivalrous Bayard's remonstrance, the French cavalry ran away). While Henry was fighting in France, his brother-in-law, James IV., invaded England; but the Earl of Surrey promptly marched with an army against the Scotch, and won the celebrated battle of Flodden, in which King James and several of the nobles of Scotland were killed.

Love, if it deserve such an honourable name, was much mixed up with these warlike operations. It was at Calais Henry VIII. first met the beautiful Lady Tailbois, who afterwards resided at the King's rural retreat, called "Jericho," in Essex, and bore him a son—the

* Hall's full description of the ladies' headdresses might exhaust the reader's patience.

† London was quite distinct from Westminster in those days.

‡ From "the Chronicles of the two noble and illustre families of Lancastre and Yorke," terminating with the death of Henry VIII., "that high and prudent prince, the indubitable flower and very heire of both the said linages."

§ His death is thus touchingly recorded in a State Paper MS.:—"In the second year of our Lord the King, her Grace [the Queen] bore a prince, who soul is now amongst the holy saints of God."

Duke of Richmond. Again, when the French war was concluded, Henry's pretty young sister Mary was sent to France as the third wife of the old and infirm monarch, Louis XII. Within three months of his marriage Louis died, and a few days after his death Mary married Charles Brandon, afterwards Duke of Suffolk. King Henry was at first much displeased at this love match, but he soon forgave his favourite courtier and his fond sister, and gave a magnificent fête in their honour on the following May Day (1515), upon which occasion the royal party proceeded in gala state from Greenwich Palace to Shooter's Hill, where the King's body guard, disguised as "Robin Hood and his merrie men," invited them to come into the woods to see how outlaws lived, and regaled them in a sylvan bower with wine and venison.

James IV. of Scotland was no exception to the royal rule. It was to please the goodlooking Queen of France he rushed into a war with his brother-in-law, and then, when he did take the field, he fatally neglected military matters and dangled after the fascinating Lady Heron.* Henry's sister Margaret became a widow by the death of her faithless husband at Flodden, but she did not feel her loss very acutely, as she married the Earl of Angus in a few months. Queen Margaret, her son, James V., and Margaret Douglas, her daughter by Lord Angus, occupy prominent places in the following pages; and in fact it was on account of the Dowager Queen that, more than twenty years after the battle of Flodden, Sir Ralph Sadleir was first sent as envoy to Scotland.

In 1527, Henry VIII. was a fine-looking and vigorous man of thirty-six, whilst Katharine was a faded woman of forty-two. "Sent into this breathing world before her time," the Queen had never enjoyed robust health, and of all her offspring, the only one who

* The following extract from Sir Walter Scott's "Marmion" is historically true:—

"O'er James's heart, the courtiers say,
Sir Hugh the Heron's wife held sway.
To Scotland's court she came
To be a hostage for her lord,
Who Cessford's gallant heart had gored,
And with the King to make accord.
Had sent his lovely dame.
Nor to that lady free alone
Did the gay King allegiance own;
For the fair Queen of France
Sent him a turquois ring and glove,
And charged him as her knight and love
For her to break a lance,
And strike three strokes with Scottish brand,
And march three miles on Southron land,
And bid the banners of his band
In English breezes dance.
And thus for France's Queen he dressed
His manly limbs in mailed vest;
And thus admitted English fair
His inmost councels still to share;
And thus for both he madly planned
The ruin of himself and land."

survived infancy was her delicate daughter Mary, now twelve years old. Henry and Katharine had lived together as man and wife, King and Queen, for eighteen years without any public question as to the legality of their hasty marriage at the little Francisean chapel; but now the King found his conscience, and believed, or affected to believe, that Heaven was angry with him for marrying his brother's widow, and had evinced its wrath by so frequently frustrating his hopes of a male heir to his kingdom. These ideas may have crossed his mind and pricked his conscience before, but he never took steps in the matter openly until a new character tripped upon the historical stage in the shape of a pretty young girl with an English face and English freshness, but with French manners and French morals. This was Anne Boleyn, daughter of Sir Thomas Boleyn and his wife, Elizabeth Howard, daughter of the Duke of Norfolk.*

When the Princess Mary went to France in 1514, as bride to Louis XII., bright-eyed little Anne† went in her train, and though Mary soon afterwards returned to England as Lady Charles Brandon, Anne remained in Paris, and was brought up at the French Court. On returning to her native land, Mistress Boleyn was appointed one of the Queen's maids of honour. Being decidedly handsome, and possessing what Sir Ralph Sadleir would call "agility of wit," Anne soon became an object of great admiration at the English Court, and before long attracted the amorous eyes of the King himself.‡

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* Anne Boleyn was therefore cousin to Catherine Howard, afterwards Queen.

† Burnet states Anne Boleyn was born in 1507; she could therefore be only seven years old at the time of the Princess's marriage, but other writers assert she was then in her teens, which appears more probable.

‡ According to Shakespeare, from whose description we obtain a glimpse of the social manners then in vogue, the King first took special notice of Anne at a banquet given by Cardinal Wolsey:—

"*Lord Chamberlain:* Sweet ladies, will it please you sit?
Sir Harry, place you on that side, I'll take charge of this.
His Grace is ent'ring. Nay, you must not freeze;
Two women placed together makes cold weather.
My Lord Sands, you are one will keep them waking;
Pray sit between these ladies.

Lord Sands: By my faith; and thank your lordship. By your leave, sweet ladies. (*Seats himself between Anne Boleyn and another lady.*)
If I chance to talk a little wild, forgive me,
I had it from my father.

Anne: Was he mad, sir?

Lord Sands: O very mad, exceeding mad: in love too.
But he would bite none; just as I do now,
He would kiss you twenty with a breath. (*Kisses her.*)

(*The King and followers enter, disguised as shepherds. Ladies chosen for a dance; the King selects Anne Boleyn.*)

The King: The fairest hand I ever touched, O beauty,
Till now I never knew thee—
By Heaven she is a dainty one. Sweetheart!
'Twere unmannerly to take you out
And not to kiss you. (*Kisses her.*)"

Henry was an impetuous lover, and did not conceal his fancy for his wife's maid of honour. The courtiers, knowing his wishes, advocated a divorce on the grounds of national expediency, and a dispensation from the Pope was accordingly applied for (1527), but although the English monarch had been a great supporter of the papal power, and had written a smart book against the doctrines enunciated by Martin Luther, the Pontiff hesitated to grant the divorce, through fear of displeasing the powerful Emperor* who was nephew to Queen Katharine.

During the delay which followed, the question agitated public opinion in England, and divided the State into two parties. For some years back Luther's doctrines had been gaining ground, and many influential men wished for a reformation in the Church. Now, the Queen was a staunch Roman Catholic, and, like her mother, hated "heresy;" her downfall would be a blow to the hierarchy at this crisis, and a gain to the Reformers; hence the divorce was deprecated by the former and advocated by the latter. But the question of the divorce and the Reformation is so complicated, I must devote a separate chapter to it, and, in the meantime, will introduce Wolsey, Cromwell, and Sadleir to the reader's notice.

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* Charles V., of Spain, who became Emperor of Germany on the death of Maximilian, in 1519.

CHAPTER II.

WOLSEY, CRUMWELL, AND SADLEIR.

I have classified these three eminent statesmen together not only on account of the connection between them—for, as Crumwell owed his rise to Wolsey, so was Sadleir indebted to Crumwell for an introduction to King Henry—but because I think Sir Ralph Sadleir is not unworthy of being grouped with the other two. No doubt Sadleir's career was not so marked or brilliant as either Wolsey's or Crumwell's; but considering his long and important services to the State, extending as they did over fifty years, he was certainly the most useful minister of the three; and if he is not so well known in so-called history as either of his illustrious contemporaries, it is because his prudence exceeded his ambition, and he preferred the golden mean of calm and uniform success to the conspicuous "steep where Fame's proud temple shone," and down which it was then so easy to fall.

Thomas Wolsey was born in Ipswich, in 1471. His father is commonly said to have been a butcher, but he was at all events rich enough to send his son to Oxford University, where he distinguished himself greatly, and consequently was appointed tutor to the Marquis of Dorset's sons. From this post Wolsey won his way to employment by Henry VII., and thus he had a footing at Court when Henry VIII. came to the throne, and the astute priest soon gained the young monarch's favour by pandering to his humour and fancies.*

Wolsey's wealth was enormous, in fact his income exceeded the revenues of the crown; for he not only enjoyed the emoluments of his several offices in Church and State, but received presents and pensions from foreign powers and princes. He had eight hundred servants, among whom were some noblemen and many gentlemen. His usual dress consisted of rich robes of scarlet silk and velvet, with hat and gloves of the same colour; his shoes embroidered with gold and silver,

* The Commissioners appointed by William IV. to arrange and publish the State Papers, assert that "the predominant influence which Wolsey is supposed to have exercised over Henry VIII. is considerably overrated." (Preface to Vol. I., State Papers, Henry VIII.) But the Commissioners judged only from the correspondence which took place between the King and his Prime Minister after the year 1518. The King was then twenty-eight, and had been nine years on the throne, and probably was not so much influenced by the Cardinal as he was in the earlier part of his reign. It is certain that Wolsey had become Archbishop of York, Cardinal of St. Cecily, and Lord Chancellor of England before that date. Even after that year the King confided a great deal to him; in 1520 he was entirely entrusted with the management of the Field of the Cloth of Gold; and indeed he was in the zenith of his power in 1529, although his personal influence with Henry may have waned before that.

and inlaid with precious stones. In public he was always attended by a great retinue, and a pair of handsome priests carried in front of him two silver crosses, indicative of his double dignity as Archbishop and Cardinal. The moral character of this pompous prelate disgraced his sacred calling, and afforded a bad example to the clergy. On the other hand, he was a consummate administrator of public affairs, and he encouraged learning and science.

Towards the close of his career, Queen Katharine hated him because he advocated her divorce, and Anne Boleyn hated him because he had, some years before, prevented her marriage with Lord Percy; whilst his power and arrogance had made him generally distasteful to many of the more high-born but less successful courtiers. The contagion of the surrounding atmosphere seized the King, and Wolsey fell into disfavour. In October, 1529, Henry deprived him of the Great Seal and transferred it to the accomplished Sir Thomas More—the first lay Lord Chancellor of England. All his property, including the magnificent mansions he took such pains to build and furnish, was confiscated to the Crown, and he was impeached before Parliament on forty-four charges, relating chiefly to his illegal exercise of power as legate and the scandalous irregularity of his life.

The mighty minister's downfall seemed complete, but he had still one faithful and courageous ally, who was not afraid to face the overwhelming tide of royal and popular displeasure. This was his Secretary, Thomas Crumwell,* who is entitled to particular attention at my hands, not only on account of the leading part he played in the national politics during the ten years succeeding Wolsey's death, but because he was the earliest patron of Sir Ralph Sadleir, and doubtless imbued him with many of his own opinions on religion and politics.

Crumwell's father, though a member of a good old Lincoln family, was obliged to go into trade in London as an iron-founder. He died in straitened circumstances, and his son Thomas soon afterwards went abroad to seek his fortune. Indeed, little is known of Thomas Crumwell's early history, further than that he travelled through Europe and found employment principally as a camp follower; and being of a quick and observant character, he not only learned the languages of the European Continent, but made himself practically acquainted with the affairs of foreign nations, and especially those of France and Italy—a knowledge which few Englishmen then possessed, and which commended him to the great Cardinal's notice.

The date at which he entered Wolsey's service is unknown. Some say not till his return from Italy in 1527, after being present at the sack of Rome; but this is erroneous, as a letter from Wolsey to More,

* "Crumwell" is one of the few names invariably spelt in the same way in the State Papers of the period, and I accordingly adopt it, as more correct than "Cromwell"—the more modern mode of spelling the family surname.

written in 1526, is in Crumwell's handwriting,* and there is another letter also extant which proves he aided in suppressing the monasteries, with whose revenues Wolsey built his Colleges at Oxford and Ipswich. In fact, it is probable he was several years in the Cardinal's service before the sack of Rome, where he perhaps was present as Wolsey's agent respecting the divorce.† At all events, he must have been married and settled in England early in Henry VIII.'s reign, for his son Gregory‡ was married before 1538, and, moreover, Sadleir (born 1507) entered his household when quite young, and resided there till he came to man's estate, when Crumwell made him his Secretary.§ Crumwell's will, too, which has been recently discovered, is dated 1529, and shews he was even then head of a large establishment and possessed of ample means.

Owing to Crumwell's roving life, his early education was neglected; but he possessed great natural ability, and was gifted with courage, energy, and determination.

When Wolsey fell into disgrace, he gave up his splendid Palace of York Place‖ to the King, and retired to a small residence at Esher. Crumwell did not desert his fallen patron, but afforded him all the aid in his power; and when the Cardinal was impeached before Parliament, Crumwell made such an eloquent and vigorous appeal in his behalf, the Commons refused to find him guilty of treason, and the King, though disappointed at the result of the debate, was so pleased with Crumwell's manliness, fidelity, and ability, that he "esteemed him a proper agent for himself in important affairs, and entertained him as his servant."¶

Sadleir was then Crumwell's Secretary, and thus he too attracted the King's notice in course of time.

"The birth of this able and celebrated statesman," writes Sir Walter Scott, "was neither obscure or ignoble, nor so much exalted above the middling rank of society as to contribute in any material degree towards the splendid success of his career in life.

"Ralph Sadleir** was the eldest son of Henry Sadleir, or Sadleyer, Esquire,

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* State Papers, Vol. I., p. 173.

† This may have been the occasion, referred to by Fuller, on which Sadleir accompanied Crumwell to Rome.

‡ See Sadleir's letter to Crumwell (State Papers, Vol. I., p. 576).

§ See inscription on Sadleir's tomb.

‖ It properly belonged to the See of York: nevertheless the King retained it as a royal residence, and changed its name to Whitehall.

¶ Birch.

** I take the liberty of correcting Sir Walter Scott as to the proper mode of spelling Sadleir, which he spells "Sadler." As Sir Walter truly observes, "the orthography of proper names in this period was far from perfect," and, as a fact, I have met Sir Ralph's surname spelt thirteen different ways in State documents, as follows:—Sadleyr, Sadleyer, Sadleir, Sadlier, Sadliar, Sadlair (James V. of Scotland), Sadlare, Sadlar (Queen Margaret, of Scotland),

through whom he was heir, according to Fuller, to a fair inheritance. He was born in the year 1507 at Hackney,* in Middlesex, where his family had been some time settled, and had a younger brother, John Sadleir, who commanded a company at the siege of Boulogne in the year 1544. The circumstances of Henry Sadleir, their father, were not such as to exempt him from professional labour, and even from personal dependence. Indeed the chain of feudal connection was still so entire that the lesser gentry of the period sought not only the emolument, but protection and even honour by occupying in the domestic establishments of the nobles those situations which the nobility themselves contended for in the royal household. The pride of solitary and isolated independence was unknown in a period when the force of the laws was unequal to protect those that enjoyed it, and the closer the fortunes of a private individual were linked with those of some chieftain of rank and power, the greater was the probability of his escaping all mischances save those flowing from the fall of his patron. It does not therefore contradict what has been handed down to us concerning Henry Sadleir's rank and estate, that he seems to have acted in some domestic capacity—probably as steward or surveyor to a nobleman, proprietor of a manor called Cilney, near Great Hadham, in Essex. His office, whatever it was, consisted in keeping accounts and receiving money; so that his son had an early example of accurate habits of business, not very common in that rude military age, which proved not only the foundation of his fortune, but continued to be the means of his raising it to the highest elevation."

"This worthy knight," so runs the inscription on Sir Ralph's tomb, "in his youth was brought up with Thomas Crumwell, and when he came to man's estate, he became his Secretary." In fact, it would appear that the Crumwells and Sadleirs were intimate friends; at all events, Richard Crumwell, a brother of the statesman, lived at Hackney, and Henry Sadleir mentions his name rather familiarly in the appended letter,† from which it will be seen that the elder Sadleir was in

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Sadller, Sadiller (Sir Thomas Clifford), Saidleir (Earl of Arran), Sadeler, Sadler. Now the last of these was no doubt often used for ordinary purposes, such as endorsing papers, &c.—the name being simply spelt as pronounced; but Sir Ralph almost invariably signed himself as Sadleyr during Henry VIII.'s reign, according to the then common custom of writing *y* instead of *i*, when it followed *e* (for example, "deceyve"). This custom went out as printing came more into vogue, and accordingly, during Elizabeth's reign, Sir Ralph generally wrote Sadleir. It is spelt thus in the inscription on his tomb, and has been so spelt ever since by the only branch to my knowledge still surviving—viz., the Sadleirs of Sopwell, County Tipperary.

* Hackney was a fashionable suburb in the sixteenth century. The Earl of Lennox, Darnley's father, lived there while in England, and the Countess of Lennox (Margaret Douglas) died there, 1578. Lady Weston and Richard Crumwell also resided in the locality. Anthony a. Wood, the antiquarian, states that Sir Ralph Sadleir was "descended from an ancient family seated at Hackney."

† Henry Sadleyer to his son Ralph, living with Mr. Crumwell, concerning some demands and private concerns. Original, from Cilney. (Titus, B. I., No. 18, p. 143. British Museum):—

"Son Raff. I hartely recomaund me unto you, and send you godd's blessing and myne. I pray you send me word whether ye have spoken to him, if ye have, I praye you that I may

some way connected with the royal revenue, and rather confidently solicits "the office in the Towre" from his son Ralph's patron.

"Ralph Sadleir's favour with Lord Crumwell," Sir Walter Scott continues, "and the trust which he reposed in him, soon brought him under the eye of Henry VIII. It was emphatically said of that monarch that Henry loved a MAN; by which we are to understand that the objects of his favour were distinguished by external strength, figure, and personal accomplishments, as well as by their temper and talents. In both respects Sadleir was fortunate; for though of middling, or rather low stature* he was skilled in all exercises, and remarkable both for strength and activity, nor was his address in public business inferior to his feats of horsemanship, hunting, and chivalry. It was probably before he attracted the King's notice that Mr. Sadleir became the husband of the widow of one Ralph Barrow, who does not seem to be a person of high rank, although no good grounds have been discovered for the scandal with which Sanders and other Catholic writers have stigmatised this union.† That she was a woman of credit and character must be admitted,

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have knowledge in writing from you of his answer made. I trust he will knowledge that I do owe to the Kynge's grace but IV^li and odd money. If it please him to look upon my book which remaineth in his hands, therein he shall find a labell that shall showe the truths. (desire him to be good to me). Son Raff, whereas I should have had of my lord, now at this audite, above XX markes, I can get never a penny but fair words, with whyche I cannot live. My lorde hath put away many of his yemen at this audite, and doth intend after Christmas to put many moe away, and both his lordshippe and my ladye will to the Court after Christmas and kepe a smalle house; wherefore I praye you that I may be recomanded to your good maister, and desire him by your humble suit to gett me the office in the Towre as in others, so that I shall be nigh London. Good Son, doe the best you can for me. I trust to be at the next terme by Godd's grace. I assure you bothe my lord and my lady shall be very lothe to depart with me, but with them I can have noe livinge; if I had I would not depart from them. I pray you sende for your mother, and rede this letter to her, and farder, my lorde doth intend to lye at Cilney all this Christmas, and there to kepe a small Christmas, though your mother my mate as yet is not come to Cilney, whereof I marvel; for diverse carttes of great Hadham hath byn at London diverse tymes since I came from home. I can no moe at this tyme, but the Holy Trenytye cummfurt us all to —— pleasure. Written at Cilney, the XVI^th day of December, in hast, as apperyth. Your father,

"HENRY SADLEYER.

"To Raff Sadleyer, dwelling with Master Crumwell, be this given.

"I thynke Richard Crumwell to London now at this tyme, and will be at Cilney before; then ye may send your letters by him; if he be not, Mr. Antony wil be at Cilney before Christmas: the letters ye send to me close them surely for openying."

* The effigy on Sir Ralph's tomb is about 5 ft. 8 ins. in length. It presents a slight and compact figure and well shaped head with regular features, a high forehead, a determined mouth, and a pointed beard. Judging from the portrait at Everley, in Wiltshire, Sir Ralph had blue eyes and light brown hair.

Hawking was a sport in which he took special delight. (See Sadler, State Papers, Vol. II., p. 538, where he excuses himself for allowing Mary Queen of Scots to accompany him on a hawking expedition).

† The scandal is that Sadleir married Margaret Mitchell, a laundress, during the lifetime of her husband Barrow, or Barre. The Jesuit Dr. Nicholas Sanders (who could hardly

since Lord Crumwell, to whom she was related, not only countenanced their marriage but was godfather to two of their children."*

Sir Walter Scott might have added that in 1543, when the infant Mary Queen of Scots was betrothed to Prince Edward, and it was agreed that "a noble English knight and lady," with a retinue of forty persons, should be established at the Scotch Court, "for the better education of the young princess after the English manner," Henry VIII. nominated Lady Sadleir, together with Sir Ralph, for the high and important post; and certainly that astute monarch would not have appointed anyone but a lady of irreproachable character to superintend the early training of his future daughter-in-law. The Scotch broke the newly made marriage treaty almost as soon as it was agreed to, and no part of the compact was carried into effect; but the facts remain that King Henry nominated Lady Sadleir, and that Sir Ralph refused on her behalf, on account of her health, as well as because she had never been brought up at Court. We therefore may infer that Lady Sadleir was undoubtedly a woman of credit and respectability, though not belonging to the courtly circle, from which the rising young statesman might have selected a wife had he exercised a greater patience in matrimony. At all events, it is pleasant to reflect that though his marriage contributed nothing to the success of his career, it brought with it domestic happiness. Lady Sadleir bore Sir Ralph several sons and daughters, and after they must have been married about forty years (1569) we find her enquiring from Cecil, with affectionate solicitude, for the welfare of her husband, who was then engaged in suppressing the northern rebellion.

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have been born at the time of Sadleir's marriage), spread the scandal through his book "De origine ac progressu Schismatis Anglicani." "He collected in this book," says Froude, "every charge which malignity had imagined against Henry VIII. and his ministers; not a scandalous story was current at the time of the revolt from the papacy, but Sanders took possession of it and used it."

It appears, however, probable that Margaret Mitchell was originally either married or affianced (which was then equally binding) to Barfe, whom she believed to be dead at the time she married Sadleir; but he returned home after a long absence abroad, and Sir Ralph was obliged to obtain an Act of Parliament in 1546, in order to legitimatize his children. At any rate, Chalmers, in his "Biographical Dictionary," states it as a fact, and certainly it is recorded in the "Statutes of the Kingdom," that a private Act (subject not given) was passed for Sir Ralph in that year.

* The following interesting letter from Sadleir to Crumwell is preserved in the British Museum. (Titus, B., p. 343). Original, and copied here *literatim*, like the preceding letter, as a specimen of the orthography then in use:—

"Sir. After myn humble comendacions with like request, that it may please you to give me leave to trouble you amongst your weightie affairs, with these tryfels: it is so that my wyfe after long travaill, and as payneful labour as any woman could have, hathe at last brought furth a faire boy, beseching you to vouchsafe ones again to be gossip unto so poore a man as I am, and that he may bear your name. Trusting ye shall have more rejoyce of him then ye had of the other, and yet there is no cause but of great rejoyse in the other, for he died

In addition to the habits of business acquired from his father, Sadleir's lucid and polished style of writing shews that he must have received as good an education as the country and times afforded. He, of course, was well versed in Latin—the common European language of the day, in which not only the laws and Acts of Parliament were then written, but nearly all the books published on any subject, and which supplied, moreover, an international medium of communication in matters relating to diplomacy and merchandise. Greek, on the other hand, was a rare accomplishment, and yet he was well acquainted with that language too.

Sadleir early adopted the reformed views of religion, and used all his influence in support of the cause throughout all the changes in the Church which took place during his long career. He was always a man of strong religious principles, and especially in his latter years—which were tinged with puritanism—we find him frequently advocating the spread of "Christ's gospel" and the "word of God."

His great success in life was, perhaps, due as much to the honesty

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an innocent and enjoyeth the joyes of heaven. I wold also be right glad to have Mr. Richard's wyf or my Lady Weston to be the godmother. There is a certain superstitious opinion and usage among women, which is that in case a woman go with child, she may christen no other man's child as long as she is in that case. And therefore not knowing whether Mr. Richard's wife be with child or not, I do name my Lady Weston. I desire to have one of them, because they do lye so near Hackney; to-morrow in the after none shall be the time, and that the holye Trinyte preserve you in long lyf and good helth with much honour. At Hackney this Saturday at III of the clocke at after none, with the rude and hasty hand of your most assured and faithful servante, during his lyf,

"RAFE SADLER.

"To the right honourable and his singular good Mr. Maister Secretarye, be these given."

From this address it would appear that, as Cromwell became the King's Secretary in 1534, and was created Lord Cromwell in 1536, the letter must have been written in the interval.

Sir Walter Scott makes the following comments on the epistle:—"Some minute intelligence, so dear to modern antiquaries, may be gained from this gossiping business; as 1st, that Sadleir had a former son who died an infant; 2nd, we may conclude that Lady Weston was either a widow or an old woman; 3rd, we may observe Sadleir's simplicity in telling us that he knew not whether Mr. Richard's wyf were with child or not; lastly, that Mr. Sadleir had not very well determined at what hour to christen his child, for he had first written *morning* and afterwards *afternoon*. But in addition to all this valuable information, the letter shews his connection with Cromwell, and the superstition which it commemorates is a singular one."

It may further, I think, be inferred that a boy had only one godfather in those days; that Sadleir expected both sponsors to be present at the christening; also, from the short notice, that christenings took place only on Sundays. Again, it would seem evident that the Sadleirs were intimate with their respectable neighbours "Mr. Richard" and Lady Weston. Mr. Richard was the great minister's brother, who was afterwards knighted, and is the reputed ancestor of Oliver Cromwell. Lady Weston was probably mother of Sir Francis Weston, whose unhappy fate in connection with Queen Anne Boleyn will be found in the sequel.

and integrity of his character as to his political sagacity and splendid administrative ability. He was evidently a most valuable and trustworthy servant of the State; for he was not only entrusted with momentous and delicate political missions, but was constantly appointed to the tempting post of High Treasurer of the army in the field, and the consequent charge of large amounts of treasure.

It may be gathered from the following pages that although Sir Ralph Sadleir was a most useful and eminent minister in both Edward VI.'s and Elizabeth's reign, it was really under Henry VIII. he established his fame as a statesman, in connection with Scotch affairs. The political problem which Henry committed to him—namely, the union of England and Scotland—became the main object of his life, and he pursued it to his death with unflagging zeal; nor is it too much to assert that no one man ever contributed more to the national consolidation of Great Britain than the subject of this memoir.

It is not precisely known when Sadleir first took part in State affairs, but there are letters extant which prove he was at Court before Wolsey's fall. In one of these* Sadleir tells Crumwell that the Cardinal should not trust too much to Gardiner's friendship—a fact which brings me to the resumption of my narrative.

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* Titus, B., p. 370. British Museum. Sadleir was only two-and-twenty at the time he made this very shrewd observation about the double-dealing Gardiner.

CHAPTER III.

THE DIVORCE OF KATHARINE OF ARRAGON AND THE REFORMATION OF THE CHURCH.

(1528-36.)

"You know my lords and gentlemen," spake Henry VIII. to a large assembly of the nobility and gentry whom he purposely summoned together, "that for these twenty years past Providence has granted our country such prosperity as it had never known before; but in the midst of all the glory that surrounds me, the thought of my last hour often occurs to me, and I fear that, if I should die without an heir, my death would cause more damage to my people than my life has done them good. God forbid that for want of a legitimate heir England should be again plunged into the horrors of a civil war." Then referring to the illegality of his marriage with Katharine, "that incomparable woman," he continued:—"This is the only motive, as God is my witness, which had made me lay this matter before the Pontiff."

Clement VII., the Pontiff to whom Henry had appealed, had just escaped from the Castle of Angelo, where he had taken refuge from the Spanish troops under the Duke of Bourbon, who had captured Rome (1527). The Pope was perplexed; he did not like to offend either Charles V., the Queen's nephew, or Henry VIII., the "Defender of the Faith."* He sent, however, Cardinal Campeggio to London, to confer with Cardinal Wolsey on the marriage question, but gave him secret instructions to reconcile the King and Queen if possible, or failing that, to induce the Queen to enter a nunnery, and in case he could succeed in neither object, to "advance slowly and never finish."

Finding it hopeless to reconcile Henry to the Queen, or to induce her to take the veil of a nun, Campeggio complied with the last directions, and contrived to postpone the settlement of the question for nearly a year.

In the meanwhile the Emperor Charles V. had been everywhere victorious, and he now prevailed on Clement to "avoke" the marriage trial to Rome, and cite Henry to appear in the eternal city. This piece of Papal arrogance was intolerable to the despotic monarch of proud England. The two Cardinals endeavoured to appease his wrath, but Campeggio was soon only too glad to escape from the kingdom, and Wolsey felt the sad conviction that his connection with the Pope had cost him the King's favour.

How Cardinal Wolsey was soon afterwards impeached of high

* Henry obtained the title of Defender of the Faith from the Pope, in consequence of his book against Luther's views.

treason, and how he was acquitted through Crumwell's energy, has already been told. Stripped of most of his possessions, he was sent to York, of which he was Archbishop. He was not, however, allowed to remain there long. The King ordered him to be arrested and brought back to London, and when on the way thither, the fallen favourite, doubtless affected by the fear of still direr misfortunes, took ill and died at Leicester (1530).

The Pope's vacillating and arbitrary conduct displeased many in England besides the King, and the question of the divorce was the principal topic of discussion throughout the country. Dr. Cranmer, of Cambridge, who was acquainted with Gardiner, the King's Secretary, suggested that His Majesty should refer the matter to the learned universities of Europe, and ask an answer to the plain question, whether it is lawful for a man to marry his brother's widow. This coming to the King's ears, he sent for Cranmer, and, in short, acted upon his suggestion.

Meantime Henry hovered around Anne Boleyn, sunning himself in the gleam of her bright black eyes, which were, in their turn, attracted by the splendour of the regal crown that hope presented to her ambitious gaze.

Katharine was only nominally Queen; her hated rival took her place at banquet and tournament. She nevertheless continued to reside with the King, until, enraged at her refusal to withdraw her appeal to Rome, and submit her cause to an English tribunal,* he peremptorily ordered her to depart from Court. Katharine accordingly left Windsor, and retired to Ampthill Palace, near Dunstable, in June, 1531.

In October of the following year, Henry, accompanied by Anne Boleyn, whom he had created Marchioness of Pembroke, crossed to Calais to confer with Francis I., ostensibly about the Turks, but in reality about the divorce. It is said that Francis recommended Henry to marry Anne without further delay, and take the Pope's sanction for granted. It is certain that, soon after their return from France, the monarch and the marchioness were privately married.† The marriage

* This Court afterwards assembled at Dunstable, under Cranmer's presidency, and annulling Katharine's marriage, confirmed Anne's.

† There are different accounts as to the scene of the private marriage, but the presumption is in favour of Sopwell Nunnery, near St. Alban's, and tradition points out an old yew tree in the neighbourhood where the lovers used to meet. It is an interesting fact that Sopwell afterwards came into the possession of the Sadleir family, and when General Thomas Sadleir obtained a tract of land in the county Tipperary, he obtained the permission of Charles II. to alter its name to Sopwell, and it is now in possession of his descendant, Lord Ashtown. The ruins of the nunnery still may be seen, as one enters St. Alban's by Holywell Hill. It was built near a place to which nuns resorted prior to 1140, as is thus recorded:—"Two pious women, resolved to devote the rest of their lives to strict seclusion and mortification of the flesh, made themselves a dwelling place on this spot with branches of trees. These two women were in the habit of steeping their crusts of bread in the water of a neighbouring well, and hence the place in after time was called Sop-well."

was kept secret for some months, until concealment became no longer prudent, as it affected the legitimacy of the coming heir to the throne, whereupon another marriage ceremony was publicly solemnised on the 12th of April, 1533, and thenceforward Anne went in state as Queen.

On the 7th of the following September, Queen Anne gave birth to a Princess at Greenwich Palace.* The King's joy on the occasion was somewhat lessened by the infant's sex, but he did not know what a glorious career was in store for his little daughter, whom he called Elizabeth, after his loving mother.

But how did the country at large view the state of affairs at Court? As already stated, public opinion was divided on the important point, and the history of the period has been distorted according to the bias of the several writers thereof. The papal party and the lower classes, which were still under priestly influence, were in favour of the "orthodox" Queen, while the increasing sect of Lutherans or Protestants† were, on the other hand, naturally opposed to her, as were also most of the nobility and gentry, who chafed under ecclesiastical control, and, recollecting how they suffered from the Wars of the Roses, were desirous that the King should have a male heir to the throne.

It is a coincidence, and a very remarkable coincidence, that just as Henry VIII. was at variance with the Pope respecting the divorce of Queen Katharine, the reformation of the Church gained ground in England; it is, however, erroneous to suppose that the Pope's refusal to countenance the divorce was the cause of the English Reformation, or that, as a poet puts it—

"Gospel light first shone from Boleyn's eyes."

The antagonism of Henry to the Roman Pontiff did no doubt hasten the destruction of the papal supremacy and the suppression of the monasteries; but this would never have happened did not the growing and glaring abuses in the Church provoke the spirit of the nation to animosity, and did not the spread of religious education awaken in England, as well as in Germany and elsewhere, an earnest desire to restore to the Christian Church its primitive purity.

Fully one hundred and fifty years before the divorce was thought of, that stout Yorkshireman, John Wycliffe, Professor of Divinity at Oxford, circulated his English translation of the Bible (hitherto only known in Latin) throughout the kingdom, and wrote tract after tract pointing out the various dogmas in the Church which had no foundation in holy writ, and exposing the luxury, indolence, and profligacy of the priests.

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* Greenwich Palace was situated close to the river, and near where the left wing of the Naval College now stands.

† They were first called Protestants in 1529.

He himself had great fervour of principle joined to great humility of life. Austere in appearance, with a russet mantle and bare feet, he lived and looked a holy and humble man.* He had many followers, and these "friends of the gospel" went so far as to petition Parliament for a reform in the Church; but the clerical influence was still all powerful in the State, and the new sect was doomed to destruction, and that accursed Act was passed by Parliament in 1401 which legalised the burning of "heretics." The London prisons were filled with Wycliffites, and it was decreed that they "should be hung on the King's account and burnt for God's."

These men were the advanced guard of the English Reformation—too far advanced, alas! They were overpowered by the enemy, but nevertheless they pioneered the way for the main body, a century and a half in rear, and led on by the most daring of all Christian warriors, Martin Luther.

Henry VIII. had hardly mounted the throne when Luther (born 1483), Professor of Philosophy in the University of Wittemberg, commenced to propound his views of Christianity, and in 1517 published his "Thesis" against the indulgences which were sold throughout Europe by the Pope's agents. The Thesis was soon followed by other trenchant works against the papacy, which, through means of the new printing presses, rapidly circulated throughout Europe. Other Reformers appeared in different quarters—Zwingle in Switzerland, Melancthon in Germany, Calvin in France, Colet and Tyndal in England; and thus the fire was kindled which purified the religion of half Christendom. Already had Erasmus† unintentionally assisted in the cause. This erudite scholar collated the various Greek manuscripts of the New Testament, and with the aid of the commentaries of the early Christian writers, Cyprian, Ambrose, Chrysostom, Jerome, &c., published in 1516 a new edition of the Greek Testament (now *printed* for the first time), which found its way from the printer at Basle into Germany, and across the Channel to London, Oxford, and Cambridge, and "was received by all men of upright mind with unprecedented delight. Nothing," continues D'Aubigné, "was more important at the dawn of the Reformation than the publication of the Testament of Jesus Christ in the original language."

When Wolsey fell (1529), Henry appointed Sir Thomas More Lord Chancellor, and took Cromwell into his service. More was a man of brilliant intellect and great learning. He was moreover, a conscientious man, and religious according to his lights,

* Leland.

† Erasmus, who was at one time tutor to Henry VIII., was the most learned man of the day, and the most famous scholar in Europe. His countrymen, the Dutch, are justly proud of him, and have perpetuated his memory by a costly statue in the market-place of Rotterdam.

believing firmly in the doctrines and traditions of the Holy Mother Church, and looking on the Pope as infallible and Rome as eternal. Cromwell, on the other hand, who had seen the Holy Father skulking behind the parapets of St. Angelo whilst a hostile soldiery occupied the eternal city, had no such veneration for the papal *régime*, and wished to put an end to priestcraft at home and abroad. It was Cromwell who explained to the King that his subjects served two masters—the Pope and himself; and as "Vatican decrees" interfered with "civil allegiance," recommended Henry to repudiate the Pope's authority and become supreme head of the Church in England.

So far as his religious creed was concerned, Henry himself stood midway between Protestant and Papist,* and was, perhaps, what might be called an advanced High Churchman or Ritualist in the present day. He caused a Bill to be passed by Parliament known as the Six Articles Act,† which legalised the celibacy of the clergy, auricular confession, private masses, &c.—most, in short, of the Romish doctrines challenged by the Reformers—and he enforced their recognition under pain of death. On the other hand, he acted on Cromwell's suggestion, and no longer acknowledged the Pope as Head of the Church; and eventually gave a great stimulus to the Reformation by causing the Bible to be published in English, and ordering a copy to be kept in every parish church throughout the kingdom.‡

But although Henry virtually disowned the Pope, he still desired his sanction to the divorce, and sent the Earl of Wiltshire (Anne Boleyn's father), Cranmer, and others to Rome for the purpose of obtaining it.

Meantime, the universities of Europe were applied to for their opinion; but their replies were conflicting, and Henry, without waiting for the papal sanction, married Anne Boleyn, as I have narrated. Fired by such a direct challenge to his authority, and instigated by the Emperor, the Pope at last came to a decision, and pronounced the divorce illegal; and so the moment arrived for the final rupture between the King and the Pontiff. Cromwell—who was now Henry's Prime Minister—caused two Bills to be passed by Parliament, one appointing the King Head of the Church, and the other fixing the succession of the throne on Anne's offspring, to the exclusion of the Princess Mary.

This daring *coup d'etat* almost drove the papal party of England to distraction. The priests from their pulpits boldly denounced the recent marriage, and in common conversation called the new Queen

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* *i.e.*, one who recognises the Pope as Head of the Church and Vicar of Christ on earth.

† Called by the Protestants the "whip with the six strings."

‡ The King wished the bishops to translate the Bible; but they refrained from doing so, and the matter was entrusted to Miles Coverdale, who, with Tyndal's assistance, completed the work, and had it printed in Zurich in 1535.

the lowest name which can be applied to a woman. Elizabeth Barton, the "Nun of Kent," who pretended to be inspired by heaven, grew wild in her denunciations and prophecies against the King, whilst his cousin, Cardinal Pole, industriously defamed him on the Continent. Severe measures were necessary to check the papal opposition, which threatened to overthrow the Government, and Henry, in his wrath, meeted out justice without mercy. First of all, the nun was arrested, and having confessed her imposture was hanged, together with the monks who had "inspired" her. The eminent Sir Thomas More, Fisher, the venerable Bishop of Rochester, and Haughton, the pious Prior of the Charter House, suffered death for refusing to take the oath of the King's supremacy. Many others met a similar fate. The only plea that can be urged in extenuation of such inhumanity is that capital punishment was as common in Europe then as it is now in Japan.

But the King and Crumwell were not contented with taking the lives of the leaders of the papal party. They determined to confiscate the property of the clergy, and break their power and influence in the State.

Few can behold the majestic ruins of some ancient abbey—Tintern, for instance—situated in the midst of lovely scenery, and not regret that such a beautiful and sacred edifice should have fallen into disuse and decay. But what is the history of those grand old walls, those noble naves and transepts, with their graceful pillars and exquisite capitals, those Gothic windows, with their delicate tracery—all exhibiting architectural skill of the highest order, all reared by pious hands for the worship of God in the beauty of holiness, and all now so desolate and lonely?

> "Long years have darkened into time since vespers here were rung,
> And here has been no other dirge than what the winds have sung:
> And now the drooping ivy leaves in ancient clusters fall,
> And moss o'er each device hath grown upon the sculptured wall."

The rise and fall of monastic institutions are easily accounted for:—In the dark ages, when some sorrow-stricken man resolved to withdraw from the world and devote himself to God, he retired to a secluded valley, lived in the humblest manner, and led a holy life, passing his time in religious exercises, and ministering, as far as lay in his power, to the spiritual wants of the people in his vicinity. Others like himself joined him by and by, and so a little brotherhood was formed. Time flowed on, the agency of the fraternity extended, and the fame of its piety was spread abroad; then followed "the lavish offerings of the faithful, the grants of the repentant lord, the endowments of the remorseful king—the opulence, the power, the magnificence. The wattled hut, the rock-hewn hermitage, became the stately cloister; the lowly church of wood, the lofty and gorgeous

abbey; the wild forest or heath, the pleasant and umbrageous grove; the marsh, a domain of intermingling meadows and corn-fields. The superior, once a man bowed down to earth with humility, careworn, pale, emaciated, with a coarse habit bound with a cord, with naked feet, has become an abbot on his curvetting palfrey, in rich attire, with his silver cross borne before him, travelling to take his place amid the lordliest of the realm."*

Such was the monastery of the middle ages in England, and its use and influence were all important in its locality; for it was not only a religious establishment, but a public institution of almost general utility, which embraced within its walls the functions of a library, a museum, a court of justice, a hospital, a school, an hotel, and a workhouse.

Before printing was invented the monks were continually copying all works of importance on divinity, law, medicine, and general literature in fact, including in later times immoral tales and romances.† These copies were exchanged for those of other works in possession of some other monastery, and so a library was collected, in which also were preserved valuable or curious old manuscripts as well as national and local chronicles. Ecclesiastical courts were regularly established which exercised the power of awarding punishment for the spiritual crimes of laymen, nor could a priest or even clerk be tried by other than the ecclesiastical court for any crime whatsoever.‡

The youth in the neighbourhood were instructed; the sick were prescribed for and supplied with medicines; distinguished personages travelling in the locality were accommodated with bed and board, usually making an adequate present in return; even the commonest tramp received his supper and lodging for the night, and anyone begging for food was not sent hungry away. The monks were given to hospitality—in the original meaning of the word, kindness to strangers§—and relieved all those who were anyways distressed in mind, body, or estate.

It will now be understood how, in a country thinly inhabited by an ignorant laity, the hierarchy which owned these centres of universal intelligence formed the most powerful party in the State. The abbots

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* Milman, "Latin Christianity."

† "In our fathers' time nothing was read but books of feigned chivalry, wherein a man by reading should be led to none other end but only manslaughter and lewdness. Those books, as I have heard say, were made the most part in abbeys and monasteries: a very likely and fit fruit for such an idle and blind kind of living."—*From the preface of the "Toxophilus," by Roger Ascham (published in* 1544).

‡ In later days the monks took local administration in hand, and amongst other things undertook to keep the neighbouring highways in repair.

§ φιλοξενία.

of the principal monasteries were summoned to Parliament* as spiritual peers, and ambassadors and all the great officials of the Crown were selected from the learned and intelligent ecclesiastical body. It was no wonder, then, that the leading families in England educated their younger sons for the priesthood as the best road to distinction, and considered the veil of a nun an aristocratic as well as a comfortable provision for their unmarried daughters. No wonder then, too, that the religious character of the monasteries gradually dwindled down, and that pride and covetousness succeeded humility and unselfishness. Spiritual services were no longer performed solely for the love of God; money or goods were expected in return, and indulgences, absolutions, and the like were granted at regular rates of pay—nay, even miracles were invented as an extra means of obtaining money. Nor did the ecclesiastical courts restrict, as formerly, their punishments to penances and religious exercises; a system of fines was adopted, which proved a lucrative source of gain.

The superiors of the various orders of brotherhood were foreigners, and resided for the most part abroad; and hence many a monastery escaped all scrutiny or visitation, and the monks, having their own way, fell into habits of luxury and profligacy.

Take Furness Abbey for example:—Situated in a lonely valley in the north of Lancashire, adjoining the picturesque lake country, and contiguous to hills of rich red hæmatite iron ore, out of which the monks made no small addition to their income, it afforded a pleasant retreat to a branch of the Cistercian order. Deer and all kinds of game abounded in the neighbourhood. The abbey possessed a rare breed of hawks, and a fine pack of hounds. The monks spent their days in sport, and their nights in feasting; and here, as elsewhere—

> "No Baron or Squire, or Knight of the Shire,
> Lived half so well (?) as a holy friar."

But this was not the worst by any means. Before the light of the Reformation opened the eyes of the nation, the people were so priest-ridden that through superstitious awe of the sacred calling, a layman did not venture to expose the misconduct of a monk, and too often had to bear in silent sorrow the violation of his family honour.†

If any member of the priesthood, from cardinal down to a clerk, (who, in virtue of his being able to write, belonged to the great clerical body) were charged with any crime, however heinous, he claimed the benefit of the clergy and was tried by an ecclesiastical court, and seldom punished in proportion to his offence.

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* In King John's time the English Parliament consisted of the "Archbishops, Bishops, Abbots, Earls, and great Barons." (See "Magna Charta.")

† The gentlemen and farmers of Carnarvonshire petitioned Henry VII. against the systematic seduction of their wives and daughters by the monks in the vicinity.

Some of the records of these courts still exist, and furnish us with startling specimens of the manner in which they administered, or rather defeated, justice.* Such flagrant abuses must sooner or later have provoked the spirit of the nation to their suppression.

Although the Wicklyffites failed in their attempts at reform, the clerical party did not escape altogether unscathed; public attention was directed to the evil habits of the monks, and several monasteries were closed in Henry V.'s reign. Again, in 1489—before Henry VIII. was born—Pope Innocent, at the instigation of Morton, Archbishop of Canterbury, issued a Commission to investigate the behaviour of the English clergy, and empowered the Primate to correct and punish as he might deem necessary; whereupon Morton, among other steps, wrote a letter to the Abbot of St. Alban's—a peer of the realm—calling him to order for the infamous conduct of himself and his monks. The Archbishop's epistle is still extant, and even one short extract from it will suffice to give the reader a peep behind the scenes at monastic life in England before the Reformation:— "You, and certain of your fellow monks, have relaxed the measure and form of religious life; you have laid aside the pleasant yoke of contemplation, and all regular observances. Hospitality, alms, and those other offices of piety which of old time were exercised and ministered have decreased, and by your faults do daily decrease more and more. The pious vows of the founders are defrauded of their just intent, the ancient rule of your order is deserted, and not a few of your fellow monks, giving themselves over to a reprobate mind, laying aside the fear of God, do lead only a life of lasciviousness. They live with harlots and mistresses publicly and continuously, within the precincts of the monastery and without—nay, as is horrible to relate, some of your brethren be not afraid to defile the holy places, even the very churches of God, by infamous intercourse with the nuns."†

After this, Archbishop Warham instituted another enquiry with similar results, and Cardinal Wolsey suppressed several vicious monasteries,‡ and a great number of the educated portion of the laity had lost all veneration and respect for the priesthood and its practices by the time the new Parliament assembled in 1529; hence it was that the King and Cromwell ventured to appoint Commissioners, in 1535, to visit and report upon the various monasteries in the Kingdom. The Commissioners performed their allotted task thoroughly, and in consequence of their Report,§ Parliament passed an Act in the following

* Froude quotes the case of a monk convicted of a deadly sin, whose punishment only consisted of a slight penance and a fine of six-and-eightpence.

† The nuns of Sopwell (see p. 18) are those alluded to.

‡ Wolsey founded the colleges at Ipswich and Oxford before referred to with the proceeds thus obtained.

§ All copies of the Report were carefully destroyed in Queen Mary's reign; but it is

March whereby the lands of all monasteries the incomes of which were less than £200 a year were "given to the King" for State purposes. Several monasteries were disestablished without delay. The process is thus described by Lingard:—"As soon as an abbey surrendered, the Commissioners broke the seal and assigned pensions* to the members. The plate and jewels were reserved for the King, and the furniture and goods were sold, and the money was paid into the Augmentation Office, lately established for the purpose."

In towns and populous parishes the abbey churches were retained and preserved for public worship, but all abbey buildings in remote and lonely districts were stripped of the lead and other saleable articles and allowed to fall into ruin.†

The work of dissolution was subsequently extended to the larger abbeys, and altogether there were suppressed before the year 1540, 665 monasteries, of which 28 had abbots in Parliament, 90 colleges, 2374 chantries and free chapels, 110 hospitals; whose total income, as paid to the superiors, amounted to £161,000 a year.

It was the intention of the King and Cromwell to follow Wolsey's example, and apply the money derived from church property to the endowment of bishoprics and schools; but this good intention was only partially carried out.‡ Some new bishoprics were created, no doubt, and schools established; but the greater portion of the monastic lands was granted, at a low rent, to various powerful nobles throughout the kingdom, for acquiescing in the spoliation of the church and supporting the Government, while some were bestowed on deserving statesmen and generals, as rewards for some signal service to the State.

The dissolution of religious houses in England was not without drawbacks, which Roman Catholic writers have not failed to make the most of. There seems no doubt, however, that the Church and people suffered a considerable loss. Had all the ecclesiastical funds been devoted, as at first intended, to religious and educational purposes, no one could reasonably complain on national grounds, though there might be many individual cases of hardship and injustice with respect

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evident, from letters of the Commissioners and the Act of Parliament, that it furnished ample grounds for the disestablishment of many monasteries, but more especially the smaller ones, in which, from the limitation of members, the monks were enabled to connive securely at each other's glaring misdemeanours.

* The average pensions per annum were £20 each to priors, £6 to monks, £4 to nuns; but some of the superior abbots received as much as £200 a year pension.

† In some instances, the stained glass windows were removed to neighbouring parish churches. The church of Windermere, for example, still contains a window which was originally in Furness Abbey.

‡ The bishoprics of Westminster, Oxford, Peterborough, Bristol, Chester, and Gloucester, were created, and collegiate churches were endowed at Canterbury, Winchester, Worcester, Carlisle, Chester, and other towns.

to pious monks and well-ordered abbeys; but as it was, little or no provision was left for the clergy, and in some instances the cure of souls in important parishes fell into the hands of very illiterate parsons. Beggars there were in plenty before the suppression of the monasteries, for the monks as a rule had ceased to be the open-handed alms-givers of olden time; but now no relief at all was given to paupers, and a new species of taxation, resulting in our Poor Law system, became necessary.

But let us revert to the King's domestic affairs.

CHAPTER IV.

JANE SEYMOUR QUEEN.—SADLEIR PRIVATE SECRETARY TO THE KING. (1536.)

Queen Katharine did not live long enough to witness the downfall of the ecclesiastical system of which she was so devoted an adherent. She died on the 5th of January, 1536. On her death-bed she dictated a most affectionate epistle to her "dear lord and master," which touched the monarch's heart and sorely grieved him, as it recalled to mind the long and deep affection Katharine had always regarded him with; and well he might deplore her death, for she was the only woman who ever really and purely loved him for himself and not for his crown. Indeed, as it happened, he was ever afterwards the victim of disappointment in honest love, and even already a thunder-cloud gathered over his domestic happiness. The story goes—and we have reason to believe it, as it is related by Wyatt, a contemporaneous writer, and not at all improbable—that Queen Anne entered an apartment in Greenwich Palace unexpectedly one day, and found the beautiful Jane Seymour, one of her own ladies, sitting on the knee of her amorous lord. Few wives can brook such conduct, and Anne could not restrain her temper, and gave vent to expressions which cost her the capricious favour of the King.

Henry was one of those who cannot conceal love or hate. All the courtiers soon perceived that the King had transferred his affections from Queen Anne to Mistress Seymour. Anne had excited the jealousy of the aristocracy by giving herself airs, and made the papal party her foes by favouring the Reformers. Hence many were now ready to tell tales of her to the King's too-willing ears, and witnesses were actually at hand to prove her conjugal infidelity—high treason in a Queen. The Privy Council took up the matter, and the evidence they received was conclusive, if true. Meantime, the usual May Day sports took place at Greenwich, and Anne, either wishing to retaliate on the King, or simply attracted by the force of levity, took too familiar notice of Sir Henry Norris, one of the knights of the tournament. Henry abruptly withdrew from the gala scene, and ordered Anne to be committed to the Tower; for Norris was one of the very men about whom his suspicions had been aroused.

Queen Anne was accused of adultery with four others* besides

* One of these was Sir Francis Weston, whose wife and mother offered the King 100,000 crowns as ransom for his life, but in vain. His mother was probably the Lady Weston whom Sir Ralph Sadleir desired as godmother to his infant son.

Another of those accused was Lord Rochford, the Queen's own brother. The only evidence against him was that of his infamous wife: he, however, suffered death, like the rest.

Sir Henry Norris. The charges against her were regularly passed by a grand jury, and she was formally tried and found guilty by a tribunal of peers, of which her uncle, the Duke of Norfolk, was President.

Piteous were the letters which His Majesty received from "the ladye in the Towre," but they were of no avail; and on the 19th of May (1536) one of the fairest heads that ever wore a royal crown rolled lifeless and ghastly in the dust, near the small grey chapel of St. Peter, on Tower Green.

Most writers since then take the popular side of the question, and represent Anne Boleyn as a martyr to the jealousy and lust of Henry VIII.; but, viewing the matter impartially, it must be admitted that she behaved in a very improper manner, as a wife and a queen, and if we acquit her of the crime laid to her charge, we must find the witnesses guilty of perjury and the peers of injustice. It is, moreover, a telling fact that when Queen Elizabeth came to the throne, she allowed her mother's bones to remain in an obscure grave, and raised no monument in her honour.

The King himself believed Anne guilty, and had so little respect for her memory, that on the very next day after her execution he married Jane Seymour.*

Jane publicly appeared as Queen at Whitsuntide, and the King, as in the case of his last marriage, lavished honours on his new wife's relations. Among the rest, her brother, Edward Seymour (afterwards so well known as the Duke of Somerset) was immediately created Viscount Beauchamp; but Thomas Cromwell, the King's Secretary, whose son Gregory was married to the Queen's sister, received the lion's share of promotion. "He was made," says Holinshed, "Lord Keeper of the Privy Seal, and on the 10th of July he was created Lord Cromwell, on the 18th of the same month he was knighted, and appointed Vicar-General, under the King, over the spiritualitie, and sat diverse times in the Convocation amongst the bishops as head over them."

Lord Cromwell was now a more powerful man even than he was before, and, owing to his relationship to the new Queen, his influence was paramount in the Court as well as in the Council and Convocation. It is very probable that Ralph Sadleir shared in his patron's good fortune, and obtained at this period his appointment at Court as "Gentleman of the King's Privy Chamber;" as the first letter we find from him at Court was written in the September following, and, moreover, this assumption agrees with the inscription on

* The story that the King went to hunt in Epping Forest on the morning of Anne's execution, and when he heard the signal gun from the Tower—for which he anxiously waited—joyously exclaimed, "Aha! the deed is done; let slip the dogs," is too absurd to need contradiction, even supposing that the report of the largest gun then in use could be heard ten miles off.

his tomb, which states that "he entered the King's service above the 26th year of his reign."

This very letter supplies here a link in my narrative, and I give it *in extenso*;* for in addition to the special interest it is entitled to on its writer's account, it is highly valuable as showing that Cromwell had a great deal of business in hand besides the dissolution of the abbeys, varying from the dismissal of a monk to the election of a prior, and from the punishment of a poacher to the coronation of the Queen. Nor will the reader fail to admire Sadleir's tact in conveying the King's imperious wishes to his all-potent minister:—

"Mine humble duty premised unto your good Lordship. It may please the same to be advertised that upon the arrival here of your servant, Mr. Rowse, with your letters, having first perused such as it pleased your Lordship to direct to me, I did after deliver the other unto the King's Majesty, who did not only read them over thoroughly, but also as soon as His Grace had read them, delivered them unto me and bade me keep them till His Grace had supped, being then ready to go to supper. And in his going to the Queen's chamber to supper, I waited on His Majesty, and by the way showed him that your Lordship had written to me that the Father of Syon was departed; and that because your Lordship would right gladly have such a one to supply his place as both for honesty, learning, discretion, and good conversation should be meet for that room, you would yourself, if it so stood with His Grace's pleasure, repair thither for the election of another. Whereunto His Grace answered that it were well done you did so. 'Howbeit,' quoth he 'the Charterhouse†, in London, is not ordered as I would have it. I commanded my Lord Privy Seal a great while ago to put the monks out of the House, and now he wrote to you that they be reconciled; but seeing that they have been so long obstinate, I will not now admit their obedience, and so write to my Lord Privy Seal.' This His Grace commanded me to write unto your Lordship (as I do), which as you shall have opportunity you may temper with His Grace as by your wisdom shall be thought convenient.

"I shewed His Highness also that your Lordship had committed to the Fleet Ralph Shelton, and how he could not deny setting up the ladder—nay, that he had said heretofore that he had killed the deer, and that your Lordship thought that there would be other things proved against him very dishonest. His Grace answered to that, that your Lordship had done well in committing him to the Fleet, and said he doubted not but you would try him sufficiently or you left him. By this communication finished, His Grace was in the Queen's chamber, ready to wash and sit down to supper.

"After supper His Grace returned unto his chamber, and immediately called me unto him, saying that he had digested and revolved in his breast the contents of your letters, and perceiving how the plague had reigned in Westminster and in the Abbey self, His Grace said that he stood in suspense

* Modern orthography is adopted in this as well as in all the following letters.

† Of which, it will be recollected, the ill-fated Haughton had been Prior.

whether it were best to put off the time of the coronation for a season. 'Wherefore,' quoth he, 'it were good that all my Council were assembled here, that we might consult and determine upon everything touching the same accordingly; and so write to my Lord Privy Seal, and send him word that my Lord Admiral is here, Mr. Comptroller, and the Bishop of Hereford be here, and pray him also to come hither indelayedly, and then we shall soon be at the point; and in case my Lord Chancellor be near London, and all that be there of the Privy Council, pray my Lord Privy Seal to bring them with him.'

"Thus His Grace commanded me to write unto your Lordship, assuring the same that, as I perceive, His Grace would gladly have you here; whereupon I despatched this bearer with the more speed. Nevertheless, when His Majesty bade me send for you, I said it would be to-morrow afternoon or ye could have word of the same, and then it would be too late for your Lordship to set forth hitherward that day, 'and the next day, Sir,' quoth I, 'is Michaelmas Day.' 'What then,' quoth His Grace, 'Michaelmas Day is not so high a day.' So that I perceive His Highness will look for you at Michaelmas Day at night, or the next morning after at farthest; the sooner the better.

"To all the rest of the contents of your letters, the King's Highness saveth he will make you answer himself at your coming.

"I have sent your Lordship all the letters stamped; nevertheless, you may now defer the sending of them forth till your Lordship shall know further of the King's pleasure. And thus the Holy Trinity send your Lordship long life and good health with much honour.

"At Windsor* the 27th day of September [1536], at 12 o'clock of the night, which is our accustomed hour in the Court to go to bed, with the rude and hasty hand of

"Your Lordship's old servant and daily Beadsman,†

(Superscribed), "RAFE SADLER."

"*To the Right Honourable*
and his singular good Lord
my Lord Cromwell,
Keeper of the King's Privy Seal."

Cromwell had indeed many irons in the fire, but he nevertheless paid special attention to ecclesiastical affairs. Not content with suppressing the monasteries, he determined, as Vicar-General, to support the Reformers of the Church in several of their views. A copy of the English Bible was already in every parish church, and Cromwell ordained that the Creed, the Lord's Prayer, and the Ten Commandments should be read in English instead of Latin. He prohibited pilgrimages to holy places, and the exhibition of sacred relics. He exposed the so-called miracles with which the priests deceived their followers. He compelled the beneficed clergy to lay aside a

* Spelt "Wyndesour" in the original. † *i.e.*, one who tells his beads or prays.

considerable portion of their emoluments for the repair of churches and the relief of the poor. All these changes we may consider wholesome, but they were at variance with the thought, the training, and the tradition of the mass of the people, who accordingly regarded them with great dislike. The thousands of monks, who were now so many homeless wanderers, took care to foment the dissatisfaction of the lower classes, while many of the nobility whose ancestors had founded monasteries, and who consequently regarded them with family pride, espoused the cause of the priests and the people. Reality was bad enough, but imagination was considerably worse, and the priest-persuaded commonalty fancied that their civil and religious rights would be completely stamped out by "the godless monarch and his infidel counsellors." The uneasy feeling which pervaded the country actually came to a head in Lincolnshire, where, in October, 20,000 men broke out in open insurrection.

Charles Brandon, Duke of Suffolk, promptly marched the royal troops against the insurgents, but finding them in great force he had recourse to a parley, and invited them to state their grievances.

The spoliation of the Church was the main grievance, and they added that the King had taken into his Council personages of low birth—such as Crumwell and Rich—who had despoiled the Church "for their own singular lucre and advantage." These complaints were forwarded to the King, who immediately returned a reply in whose vigorous bitterness one might recognise the spirit of that "low personage," the Vicar-General, even if we were not told in the State Papers that "the MS. of the original is in the handwriting of Crumwell":—

"I have never heard, read, or known, that Princes, Counsellors, and Prelates should be appointed by rude and ignorant common people; nor that they were persons meet and of ability to discern and choose meet and sufficient Counsellors for a prince. How presumptuous then are ye, the rude commoners of one shire, and that the most brute and beastly of the whole realm and of least experience, to find fault with your Prince for the election of his Counsellors and Prelates!

"As to the suppression of religious houses and monasteries, we will that ye and all our subjects should well know that this is granted us by all the nobles, spiritual and temporal, of this our realm, and by all the Commons of the same, by Act of Parliament, and not set forth by any Counsellor or Counsellors upon their mere will and phantasy, as ye full falsely would persuade our realm to believe. And when ye alleged that the service of God is much thereby diminished, the truth thereof is contrary; for there be no houses suppressed where God was well served, but where most vice, mischief, and abomination of living was used; as doth appear by their own confessions, subscribed by their own hands in the time of visitation."

This daring reply, which terminated in threatening their wives and

children with fire and sword, awed the peasantry of the fens into submission, and they dispersed quietly on the 30th of October, having first delivered up their ringleaders to be executed.

But in a few weeks afterwards a much more formidable rebellion, called the "Pilgrimage of Grace," broke out in Yorkshire, and rapidly spread throughout the northern counties in dangerous proximity to Scotland. Fully 40,000 men rose in arms, and were led on by Robert Aske, a gentleman of property and position, while Lord Darcy, the Archbishop of York, and several influential magnates in the northern district sympathised with the movement. Priests marched in the van, in the habits of their various orders, carrying crosses, and bearing banners emblazoned with the figure of Christ upon the cross, the sacred chalice, and other emblems of Romish Christianity. Their object, they said, was the glory of God, the suppression of heresy, justice to the Church, and the expulsion from the King's Council of the base personages which guided it. Aske forwarded a memorial to the King similar to the Lincoln petition, but worded more boldly and demanding more concessions. The State Papers* furnish us with the "Answer to the demaundes of the Rebelles in Yorkshire." The original is written by Sir Ralph Sadleir, and contains a few alterations in the King's handwriting. In this answer the King repeated his assertions as to the necessity of suppressing the monasteries and the present government of the Church. As to the laws, he maintained that they never before were so wholesome, commodious, and beneficial. The men of his Council were just and true, and good administrators of both God's laws and his own, and though some of them were not of noble estate, they were superior to some of those whom his wise father, Henry VII., had employed. In fine, the King positively refused to concede one iota of the "demaundes," and ordered the rebels to deliver up their ringleaders and retire peaceably to their homes. But the stubborn sons of Yorkshire were not to be frightened, like the Lincolnshire peasantry, at a royal manifesto; on the contrary, they were irritated at the King's uncompromising reply, and only showed a bolder front. Whereupon the Duke of Norfolk—known and feared in those parts as the Earl of Surrey—took supreme command of the royal troops, and after a series of skirmishes the unorganised bands of the insurgents gave way before the regular army. A free pardon being then promised to all concerned, the malcontents dispersed to their native villages and wolds.

This dissatisfaction in the northern counties occurred in a most critical period for the English Government. The King of France, the Emperor of Germany (who was also King of Spain and the Netherlands), and the Pope of Rome—in short, all the great Catholic powers

* Vol. I., p. 506.

of Europe—had expressed their indignation at Henry's treatment of the Church, and were now planning a hostile combination against him; his Irish subjects were even more refractory than usual; his cousin, Cardinal Pole—a possible claimant of the throne, and an active agent of Popery—was actually on his way to Holland, whence he might easily communicate with the papal party in England, and fan the flame of discontent; while his nephew, James V. of Scotland, with whom he was most anxious to form a friendly alliance, had just gone over to the enemy's camp, or, in other words, was now at the French Court preparing for his nuptials with Magdalen de Valois, daughter of Francis I.

Such was the momentous state of affairs at Christmas time 1536; but Henry assumed a bold attitude before all his enemies, at home and abroad. It was, however, his political relations with Scotland which demanded his most immediate attention; and resolving to send there a trusty envoy without loss of time, he selected Sadleir for the mission.

CHAPTER V.

SCOTLAND.

(1537.)

A firm friendly alliance with Scotland was probably the chief object of the English statesmen of the sixteenth century. "If Scotland is sure, Spain and France can do us little harm,"* Sir Ralph Sadleir wrote to Sir William Cecil; and he expressed, no doubt, the general conviction of all the leading politicians of the period, and, indeed, we ourselves can readily imagine how greatly our political and commercial position and progress would be paralysed were Scotland now a separate kingdom and in a chronic state of warfare with England.

A couple of centuries previous the Welsh had resigned their independence, but the attempt to subjugate the more inaccessible Scotch was utterly frustrated by Bruce's decisive victory at Bannockburn (1315). No further endeavour was made either to subdue or conciliate the hardy northerners until the politic Henry VII. gave his daughter in marriage to James IV. of Scotland. But, unfortunately, the silken cord of matrimony formed no immediate bond of international union. The rash and valiant James took advantage of his brother-in-law's (Henry VIII.) absence in France to invade England, and was defeated and killed at the battle of Flodden (1513). King James left two infant sons—James V. and the Duke of Rothesay (died young). His widow, Queen Margaret, married within a year the young Earl of Angus,† chief of the Douglas clan. The Scotch nobility, headed by the Earl of Arran, chief of the House of Hamilton, were dissatisfied that the reins of Government should be held by the sister of their hereditary foe, the King of England, and her youthful husband. The Duke of Albany, cousin of the late King James, but a born Frenchman, and at this time Admiral of France, was appointed Regent, and Margaret and Angus, driven from the country, took refuge in England. The Scotch, who were before jealous of English influence in their affairs, soon became jealous of the French influence. The tide turned, and the Douglas clan and the faction favourable to the English connection gained the upper hand. Queen Margaret and the Earl of Angus were again entrusted with the helm of State and the Regency of the young King; but for some reason or other the Queen now hated her

* Standon, August 1, 1570. MS. State Paper Dept., Record Office.

† The old Earl was also killed at Flodden.

husband, and did not rest satisfied until he was banished and Albany recalled.

French influence was again in an overwhelming ascendancy. Henry VIII. sent an army of 10,000 men to Scotland, under Lord Surrey, the hero of Flodden. A force of 80,000 Scots was quickly raised, and marched to the border under Albany to repel the threatened invasion; but when the two armies came face to face, Albany, instead of fighting, made terms with the English and ordered a retreat. The Scotch resented the Duke's pusillanimous conduct, and he had to retire to his native France for ever and aye. Once more the Earl of Angus endeavoured to return to his place in the councils of the nation, but he was effectually opposed by his disreputable wife, who, after compromising her fame by her familiarity with the Duke of Albany, had transferred her worthless affections to Henry Stuart, (Lord Methvin)—an unscrupulous and ambitious man several years younger than herself, and in order to marry whom, she had (1528) obtained a divorce from the Earl of Angus through means of the Pope, who, although he refused to sanction Henry VIII.'s separation from Queen Katharine, granted a similar and more groundless request to his sister Margaret—but then she was one of his faithful!

In this same year, Patrick Hamilton, Abbot of Fern, in Rossshire, was burnt to death for his Lutheran views, in front of the old college of St. Andrew's. He was a devout and learned man, and his martyrdom created a sensation amongst his countrymen, and proved to be the keystone of the Scottish Reformation.

In 1533 James V. became of age—one-and-twenty—and free from Regent's control. His uncle, Henry VIII., had already won his favour by sending him presents, and humoured his ambition by offering him the Princess Mary in marriage, so that he would be heir to both crowns; and Henry would probably have still retained his influence over him had not his quarrel with the Pope waxed hotter and hotter, and the rival potentates of Christendom bid eagerly for an alliance with the young King of Scots, whom the heat of controversy had raised from a British to a European importance. In 1536, the Emperor, Charles V., sent James the order of the Golden Fleece—one of the highest orders of chivalry—and the Pope endued him with his blessing, and "a cap and sword consecrated on the night of the nativity of our Saviour, to breed a terror in the heart of a wicked neighbouring Prince, against whom the sword was sharpened."*

Henry VIII., not to be outbid, created James a Knight of the Garter, and despatched Lord William Howard, brother of the Duke of Norfolk, to Edinburgh, to induce James to arrange a royal meeting with him, where the two Kings might "confer on matters that should

* Drummond, Hist. of James V.

redound to both their honours, and to the glory and weal of their realms and kingdoms." James assented to the meeting, but he was subsequently dissuaded by James Beaton, the Archbishop of St. Andrew's, who was to King James what Wolsey had been to King Henry, and who, together with his nephew, David Beaton (afterwards his successor and Cardinal), was the mainspring of the papal and anti-English party in Scotland. The Beatons knew very well that the lower classes of their countrymen were already "tainted" with the Reformers' views, and they were resolved to keep the King and Court as much as possible free from "infection." They therefore opposed James's meeting with Henry, lest he should be "perverted from the true faith," and follow his uncle's example of appropriating the property of the Scotch monasteries; while, on the other hand, they encouraged his friendship with the French King, and very plausibly argued that as the Princess Mary had been cut off from the succession to the English crown, 'twould be wiser for James to ally himself by marriage to France, and named the daughter of the Duke of Vendome as a desirable consort. And so the young King was lost by England and won by France, and in the autumn of 1536 we find him repairing to the French court in search of a political alliance, in the shape of a wife, just at the time when the hostile attitude of the continental powers and the disaffection in the north of England made his co-operation, or at all events his neutrality, of greater consequence than ever to Henry VIII.

In the meantime, Queen Margaret had been thrust aside by her unprincipled husband, Lord Methvin, who had married her merely for the influence she possessed during her son's minority, and now, as that was over, discarded her person although he spent her money. In short, the Queen Mother—who was at this time in her 48th year—had commenced to reap the fruit of the silly and discreditable conduct which had marked her previous career. Abandoned by her husband, neglected by her son, slighted at Court, and generally despised, she felt she had hardly a friend in Scotland, and turning sadly to her native land for aid, wrote piteous appeals to her brother Henry.

Having thus far sketched the vexed state of affairs in Scotland, I am now in a position to resume my narrative at the point from which I digressed at the close of the last chapter.

Henry VIII. resolved to send an envoy to Scotland, to ascertain what real grounds Queen Margaret had for the complaints she wished redressed, and to discover, if possible, how far the young King had politically pledged himself to Francis I. (whose daughter he had just married). The envoy was also to find out whether any section of the Scotch encouraged or sympathised with the northern malcontents, and other matters of a similar nature.

The distance from London to Edinburgh is 400 miles, and we, who can now perform the journey in ten hours in the luxurious first-class compartment of a punctual railway, can hardly realise the difficulties which, in the winter season especially, surrounded the traveller in the Tudor times. The great northern route lay through Hertford, Peterborough, Lincoln, York, Newcastle, Berwick, and Dunbar. The road, except in the neighbourhood of large towns, was in very bad repair, full of ruts and holes, and in some places not visibly defined.* Highwaymen infested portions of the route, and at the special time in question the passage through the northern counties was attended with peculiar danger to the King's messenger. Then came the perilous "border," or strip of country on each side of the frontier, inhabited by professional bushrangers, and finally Scotland proper, through which a passport or "safe conduct" was necessary, though not always sufficient, to secure the person and property of the traveller from outrage. Horseback was the only effective mode of locomotion, and it was the duty of the mayor of each town to provide Government officials with horses and escort, if necessary, to the next stage.†

The mission to Scotland required pluck and physical strength, as well as tact and intelligence. "As a man, none was more complete than Sir Ralph Sadleir," and he was selected by Henry VIII. as envoy, although he was not more than thirty years of age and had been only a year in the King's service; but "King Harry was a good judge of two things—a man and a dish of meat—and was seldom deceived in either,"‡ and, as events proved, he could not have fixed upon an abler ambassador.

We can fancy the young envoy bidding farewell to his anxious wife, and starting from his home at Hackney on a cold January morning (1537), clad in light armour, with helmet attached to the saddle bow (ready at hand, should occasion require), mounted on a strong horse, and armed with a sword and pair of clumsy pistols—then considered a great invention—and attended by half-a-dozen trusty followers, similarly armed and equipped.

Concealed in his doublet he carried his "secret instructions," and a letter§ from the King to the "Right excellent and Noble Princesse our derest suster" Queen Margaret, stating that "having occasion at this time to send this Bearer into those parts for other our affairs and

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* Thoresby, the antiquary, though writing a century and a half later, informs us that he lost his way between Doncaster and York; and in another part of his diary he complains that he encountered a series of disasters between Leeds and London sufficient for a journey to the frozen ocean or to the Desert of Sahara.

† Horses commonly could be obtained at the post stations which were then established on the northern road at intervals of twenty miles.

‡ Fuller.

§ State Papers, Vol. V., p. 63.

business, we thought meet by these our letters to desire and pray you not only to signify unto us more plainly the points wherein you note yourself evil handled, both by our nephew, your son, and by the Lord Methvin, but also whether you desire that we should directly and particularly intreat such your griefs with our good brother and nephew, your son, as you will specially signify unto us; or else generally recommend your state, condition, or good entertainment unto him. Knowing certainly your mind herein, with the particularities of your griefs, such as you will avow and justify, we shall not fail to devise in such wise for the redress of the same as both to our honour and yours shall appertain; like as this Bearer can further declare unto you, to whom we require you, dearest Sister, to give firm credence."

Henry VIII. had also heard another and very different account from Scotland as to the manner in which Queen Margaret was treated; to wit, that "she was there very well handled, and grown to much wealth, quiet, and riches." Before, therefore, he interfered in her favour, he resolved to find out exactly on what particular points she sought redress, and to obtain her authority in writing for his intervention; and Sadleir, we may be sure, was enjoined to use his eyes and ears, and form his own judgment in the matter.

This letter is indorsed 7th of January, but it is evident from Queen Margaret's reply that Henry sent a second letter of later date respecting the marriage of James V. (which took place in Paris on the 1st of the month), and expressed his regret that "his mind and counsel was not had in the same."

Sadleir found the country quiet between London and York, where he arrived on the 23rd of January.* The State Papers† contain two very interesting letters he wrote to Lord Crumwell on his way to Scotland, describing the state of the country he passed through. They tell their own story so well that I cannot do better than transcribe portions of them *verbatim*. The first is from York:—

"This being the 23rd day of the month, I arrived here, in York, where Mr. Lawson had made me good cheer; and in my journey hitherwards, as I met with divers posts to London wards, and divers others of the North, I always asked what news; and indeed as they were divers of whom I asked the question, so they told me divers tales; for some told me that there was a new insurrection, and that all Northumberland, Cumberland, Westmorland, Yorkshire, Richmondshire, and Holderness was up, and some told me again that my Lord Conyers had stayed a great part of Richmondshire, some told me that Sir Francis Bigote had raised a great company and made assault upon Hull, and that there was a great conflict and many men slain, and that

* It appears that he travelled at the rate of about thirty miles a day, and that therefore we may suppose he left London on the 15th.

† Vol. I., pp. 526, 529.

Sir Rauf Ellerker did his part so well that he took a great many of the rebels, and their captain Bigote fled, no man knoweth whither; and finally all men that I have talked with agree in one tale, that the only cause of this new tumult amongst the people is a certain despair that they have conceived that my Lord of Norfolk should not come with these parts; for all men here say that his coming shall stay it altogether.

"Sir, all the towns that I have passed through hitherto are in very good quiet, and, as I can perceive, very desirous so to continue; and yet by means they be much incited and provoked to the contrary, for in all the towns and villages hereabouts, on this side Doncaster, there have been bills and scrowes* set up upon the church doors by night containing these words in effect:—

"Commons, be ye true amongst yourselves, and stick one to another, for the gentlemen have deceived you; but yet, if need be, ye shall lack no captains." Surely there be some that do nothing else but go up and down and sow sedition amongst the people, which in mine opinion might be facilly apprehended if men were willing; but to say mine opinion, as far as I can perceive, the gentlemen be of such sort as seem to be sorry of this tumult and rebellion, and yet can be content to wink at it and make no resistance. For as I passed in these parts I communed in divers towns with some of the honest sort who were householders, and asked them on what ground the people were thus stirred to rebel against their Prince, and who they were who first stirred them thereunto; and they, as men who would excuse themselves, said that they began in Lincolnshire, and if people had not risen there, no man would have risen in the north; but when they were up, then came Aske into Holderness, and there he caused bills and scrowes to be set up and spread abroad in all places, the effects whereof were 'that all parish churches should be pulled down, and none to stand within five miles of another; that no marriages, christenings, nor burials should be, but that they should pay fines to the King,' with such other mischievous devices; whereupon the people were brought into a great rumour, and 'the gentlemen,' quoth they, 'took upon them to be their captains.' 'Why,' quoth I, 'the gentlemen were taken by the commons and compelled to be their captains.' 'Yea, yea,' quoth they, 'and the gentlemen had been as they should be, they might have stayed them well enough at first.'

"Amongst the rest, one merry fellow, who was my host at Tadcaster, said, 'How say you to my Lord Darcy? Did he not turn to the commons as soon as they came to Pomfret, and take their part?—and yet, being within the castle, he might have resisted them if they had been ten times as many as they were.' Whereof, I assure your lordship, I do conjecture that the gentlemen have been rather contented to wink at all this matter than to prepare any resistance.

"I hear the people in all parts where I shall pass are very wild, now up and now down, at no stay, but in a mamoring† what they may do. Surely if any new commotion take place beyond York, it is like enough that they will take part with them that come first. If my Lord of Norfolk comes first, or whosoever come for the King's part, there is no doubt but that he shall rule

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* Scrolls.

† Hesitation.

all this country at his pleasure, but should the commons be stirred here before his coming, then it were doubtful; for they like not to say openly they will take the part of him that cometh first. If the King's army come first they will take that part, and if the commons come first they needs go with them, or else be despoiled of all they have.

"Now, touching my journey forthwards, albeit the people be so wild the way I must pass, yet I am in good hope I may safely pass them; wherefore, God willing, I shall address myself towards the end of my journey with all convenient speed."

In three or four days afterwards Sadleir reached Newcastle-on-Tyne, 85 miles further north, whence he wrote a second letter to Lord Crumwell on Sunday, the 28th January. He did not find the intervening country to be "very wild, as was reported," though there had been some stir in the bishoprie two or three days before his coming, in consequence of a report set abroad "by some seditious persons" that the Duke of Norfolk was "coming down with a great army and power to do execution, and to hang and draw from Doncaster to Berwick, and in all places northward, notwithstanding the King's pardon." But Sadleir "saw no lightness or desire of division amongst the people throughout the whole bishoprie—which is a great country*—saving at one town, which is called Darlington," of which he gives us a graphic and interesting description:—

"My chance was to come into the town in the evening, about 6 of the clock, or somewhat afore, and when I alighted at my lodging, I think there were not passing three or four persons standing about the Inn door. I was scant ascended up a pair of stairs into my chamber, but there were about thirty or forty persons assembled in the street, afore my chamber window, with clubs and bats, and there they came running out of all quarters of the street, whispering and rounding† together, whereupon I called mine host, who seemed an honest man, and I asked him what the people meant to assemble so together. He answered me that when they saw or heard of any coming out of the south, they used always so to gather together to hear news. I told him it was ill suffered of them that were the heads of the town to let them make such unlawful assemblies together in the street, and that it was a very ill example, and hard to judge what inconvenience might follow, or what attempts they would enterprise when such a number of light fellows were assembled. He answered me, by his faith, the heads of the town could not rule them, nor durst, for their lives, speak a foul word to them. 'But,' quoth he, 'I think myself to be in some credit with them, and ye shall see that I shall cause them to scatter abroad, and every man go to his home by and by.' 'Marry,' quoth I, 'if ye do well, ye should set some of them by the heels.'‡ 'No,' quoth he, 'God defend, for so might we bring a thousand

* It may, I think, be inferred from the mode of expression, that this was Sadleir's first visit to the north.

† Walking round and round.

‡ Put them in the stocks—a very common punishment in those days.

men on our tops within an hour, but ye shall see me order them well enough with fair words.' And thereupon he went to the rout in the street, as they stood whispering together, and, with his cap in his hand, prayed them to leave their whispering and every man to go home. And then they all came about him and asked him who I was, whence I came, and what I would? Mine host told them that I was the King's servant, and going from His Highness in Ambassade into Scotland. Whereunto one of them replied and said that could not be true, for the King of Scots was in France. Nevertheless, in fine, mine host so pacified them that every man went his way; but much ado he had, as he told me, to persuade them to believe that I went into Scotland."

The people of Newcastle may be proud of the favourable opinion Sadleir formed of the hospitality and loyalty of their forefathers:—

"On Friday last I arrived at Newcastle, and I assure your Lordship I have been well entertained for the King's sake, both by the Mayor and Aldermen, and at this time they have shown themselves honest, faithful, and true men to the King; for albeit the commons of the town at the first beginning of this tumult were very unruly, and were as much disposed to rebellion as they of the country were, yet the Mayor and Aldermen, and other heads of the town, did so handle the commons with wisdom and manhood, that they were determined to live and die with the Mayor and his brethren, in the defence and keeping of the town to the King's use, against all his enemies and rebels. The town itself is surely a strong town, and the Mayor is a wise fellow and a substantial. He and James Lawson, who is one of the Aldermen, brought me upon the walls of the town, which be very strong, and there they shewed me how they had fortified the town. All along the walls lay sundry pieces of ordnance, and at every gate of the town they kept watch and ward, and still do. Every gatehouse is full of bows and arrows, bills,* and other habiliments of war; and upon every gate lay in the towers great pieces of ordnance, which would scour every way a mile or two and more. All which ordnance they told me that every merchant for his part brought out of their ships. They made also new gates of iron upon the bridge, and be victualled within the town, they think, for a whole year. They have done their parts honestly, and, in mine opinion, deserve much thank, praise, and commendation; and if it might please the King's Highness to send them a letter of thanks it would greatly encourage them; for surely they have deserved thank, and been at great charge for the defence and fortification of the town."

On the following day Sadleir started for Berwick, on the Border, where, although he had sent on one of his servants a week in advance to procure it, he had to wait a couple of days for his "safe conduct to come out of Scotland," as "in the King of Scots' absence they were very dangerous† in granting of safe conducts."

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* In the Museum of Artillery, at Woolwich, there are two sixteenth century bills which came from Newcastle.

† Cautious. (?)

He concludes a long letter with a postcript which proves he was well aware of the uxorious character of the Queen Dowager to whom he was accredited :—"It was told me this day at Newcastle that the Queen of Scots should be entered into a religious house of sisters in Scotland, and was become a sister in the same; which I take to be no gospel."

Sadleir must have left Berwick-on-Tweed about the 1st of February, and arrived at Edinburgh a couple of days later on. The Earl of Angus was still in exile, otherwise the English envoy would probably have been entertained for a night or two on the road at Tantallon Castle—the ancestral stronghold of the chief of the Douglases.

Sadleir has left us no record of his proceedings in Edinburgh, but he no doubt addressed him to the objects of his mission with characteristic energy, and returned home without delay, bearing in his mind an intelligent impression of all he had seen and heard, and in his pocket a letter for the King from Queen Margaret, "Vryten vyth my owne hand, the 10 day Febrawr." Her Majesty informed her "Ryght excelent, Hy and myghty Prynce, and deryst Bruthar, the Kyng," that she had received his loving writing with credence from "Raff Sadlar," which was a great comfort to her. She adds, "as touching the marriage of your nephew, the King, my son, in so far as your grace makes rehearse in your said writing that your mind and counsel was not had to the same, which would have been both to his honor and credit, I assure your grace that when he departed from me, that he said he would have your advice and counsel in all his matters that he had to do, and to my part I am very evil content that he did not the same."

Lord Methvin, she continues, has spent "her lands and profits on his own kith and kin," and has put her in debt 8,000 marks, Scotch money, for what she does not know, and she wishes her son's Council to compel Methvyn to account for the money. Margaret also complains that her son is not in the habit of treating her "as he ought to do, to the pleasure of God and her own honour;" and concludes by saying she had explained matters fully to Mr. Sadleir, and begs her dearest brother, the King, to give him credence in her behalf.

CHAPTER VI.

SADLEIR ENVOY TO JAMES V.—BIRTH OF EDWARD VI.

(1537-9.)

Queen Margaret's letter, supplemented by Sadleir's verbal report, satisfied Henry that his sister had just grounds for complaint, and as Cardinal Pole was now hatching treason on the French frontier, he resolved to send Sadleir to France, with a twofold object—first, to visit James V., who was still in that country, in order to obtain, if possible, better treatment for Queen Margaret; second, and more important, to bear a despatch to the Bishop of Winchester (Gardiner), the English ambassador at the French court, directing him to ask Francis I. to deliver up 'the traytour, Pole,' in accordance with the extradition treaty.*

The King accordingly issued "instructions, &c., to his trusty and well-beloved servant, Rauf Sadler, Gentleman of his Privy Chamber, &c.," to deliver his letters of credence to James V., and, having obtained an audience, to represent to him the grievances of which his mother complained, and "to set forth and temper the matter with such dexterity, as he may rather gently persuade the said King to consider it than in any wise to irritate him."†

Sadleir started on his new mission towards the end of March (1537), and after a rough passage of twelve hours, from five o'clock in the morning to five at night, he landed "with much difficulty at a little village in Picardy, called St. John's Road, six miles from Boulogne." He found the Bishop of Winchester at Amiens (whence he wrote 28th March) and delivered to him the King's letters, whereupon "my Lord of Winchester did immediately send to the court, being fourteen leagues from this town, to learn when he may conveniently have access to the French King's presence, who is now in the wars, and lying in camp before the Castle of Heyding."

On the following day Sadleir repaired to the Scotch King, who was at Rouen, abiding only fair wind and weather to set out for Scotland with his young bride.

James V., in the preceding September, had sailed in state to France, to marry Mary, the Duke of Vendome's daughter, according to arrangement, but when he arrived at Paris he admired the King's daughter

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* See Sadleir's letter to Cromwell. (State Papers, Vol. V., p. 72).

† State Papers, Vol. V., p. 70.

Magdalen more than Mary, and married her on the 2nd of January, at Notre Dame.*

The young bride was delicate, and James desired permission early in February to return home through England, in order to avoid the long sea passage; but the Privy Council advised Henry not to grant the request, for all the towns through which the royal couple passed should "receive them nobly and give them presents for his Graee's honour;" moreover, "as the King's Majesty had appointed to repair to York in the summer for the Parliament and coronation,† and perfect establishment of the country in quiet, and if it be true, as now alleged, that horsemeat cannot now be had for money, how shall the country sustain two so great trains as the King's Majesty and they must have, specially considering the number of bagwaletours‡ that shall come with them out of France."

It was, moreover, remembered that the King of Scots refused Henry's request to restore the Earl of Angus; and that he "never wrote a letter or sent any special message to the King's Highness to make him participant to his marriage, nor of his request to come hither."

James had therefore to wait for fine weather, and actually did not embark for Scotland till the following May. Sadleir, however, was successful in his mission, for Queen Margaret wrote to Henry in April§ saying "her son had written affectionately to the Lords of his Council to do her justice with expedition."

"My Lord of Winchester" was not so successful, and Cardinal‖ Pole still remained at large. It is possible that Gardiner was not sorry at his failure, for he sympathised with Pole in his religious views, as was abundantly proved by his subsequent career.

In the meantime, the "bills and scrowes" which had been posted on the church doors in Yorkshire in January, as Sadleir informed Cromwell, incited the people to another rising in February. The Duke of Norfolk acted vigorously, and the insurrection was suppressed. Several of the rebels escaped into Scotland, but Lord Darcy, Aske, and others,

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* State Papers, Vol. VII., p. 669.

The royal bridegroom enjoyed his honeymoon in Paris, and took delight in the shops, which were infinitely grander than those in Edinburgh. He is described by an observer as "ordering himself so foolishly, with a servant or two, running up and down the streets, buying every trifle himself, he weening no man knows him; wherefor every carter pointed with their finger, saying, "there goes le Roi d'Escoisse."—*Pennal's letter. See Pinkerton's "History of Scotland."*

† It appears that the plague prevented Queen Jane's coronation in London, and the King contemplated holding the ceremony in York, during his conciliatory visit to the northern counties. (State Papers, Vol. V., p. 68).

‡ Baggage men; from *bag* and *wallet*.

§ State Papers, Vol. V., p. 74.

‖ Reginald Pole was made cardinal December 1536.

who had compromised themselves again, were taken prisoners and eventually hanged, as were also several monks who were the prime instigators of the movement. Norfolk, however, still remained in the north, to allay the disquietude, and the King himself determined to pay York a royal visit later on.

With regard to danger from abroad, the Government were quite on the *qui vive*. A pastoral letter had been issued by Pope Pius III., advocating the federation of the Catholic powers for the defence of the Church against heretics, and directed evidently against Henry VIII. in particular. We are not surprised, therefore, to find the Council (Westminster, 3rd April)* considering gravely the unity of the Emperor, the French King, and the Bishop of Rome, as a matter of danger to England, and recommending that Calais, Guines, Berwick, and Carlisle should be victualled, and put in a state of defence against all sudden surprises, and that the navy should be increased.

The Government had good reason† to suppose that the King of Scots—perhaps annoyed at being refused permission to pass through the country—also entertained a hostile feeling towards England; and with the view of dissipating it, they determined to send an envoy to Edinburgh for the purpose of conciliating the Scotch monarch and urging him to form a friendly alliance with the King, his uncle.

Henry must have been well pleased with the tact and talent Sadleir displayed on the former occasion, for he now entrusted him again with the new mission to James V.

"The Instructions by the King's Majesty, given unto his trusty and well beloved Rafe Sadeler, one of the Gentlemen of His Grace's Privy Chamber, sent at this time (May 1537) unto the King of Scots,"‡

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* State Papers, Vol. I., p. 545.

† "Pleasith your majesty, when in Edinburgh, I chanced to meet with one Englishman being a gentleman, and much of council with the Vice-Admiral of France, called James Crane; who perceiving by the arms of your majesty in the box upon my breast, that I was an Englishman, took acquaintance with me, and did shew unto me certain credence to be declared unto Rauf Sadiller, one of the Gentlemen of the Privy Chamber of your Majesty, whom he met at Rouen, to the effect that when the King of Scots, in his repair homewards, came near Scarborough, twelve of your Majesty's subjects came on board the King's ship and being on their knees before him, shewed him how they were slain and murdered, and desired him for God's sake to come in, and he would have all. * * * *

"The King, being on the seas near Berwick, said amongst his gentlemen, that if he lived a year he should himself break a spear on an Englishman's breast."—*Clyfford to Henry VIII., 26th May*, 1537. (*State Papers, Vol. V., p. 79*).

‡ I quite agree with the Editor of the State Papers (Vol. V., p. 81), that these instructions were given to Sadleir at this time, and not, as stated in the "Sadler State Papers," in 1541. This is evident from the seasonable attack on priestcraft, the pointed allusions to strengthening the fortresses, Henry's intended tour to Yorkshire in the summer, and to Cardinal Pole's machinations. Froude thinks that the Pope's Bull referred to means the Bull excommunicating Henry, which was published in December 1538, and that therefore these instructions were given in that winter: but the "Bull" (derived from the

state the King's case very plainly against the "Bishop of Rome" and his adherents, and is couched in language of incisive vigour.

Sadleir was directed first to address himself to such persons as should be "most meet to obtain his access to the King of Scots;" which being obtained, the ambassador was to give James Henry's "most hearty and effectuouse commendations," &c., &c., &c., and "present him with a small present and token, requiring him to accept the same in good part, considering the good heart and will rather than the smallness of the thing."*

"An audience being granted, Mr. Sadleir shall expound unto him that the King's Majesty, having found his Grace like a kind nephew and of a very good disposition and inclination towards His Majesty, hath willed to open his mind and purpose unto him further than he hath done at any time.

"And first, to the intent that his said nephew might perchance conceive, upon sundry reports and suggestions that may be made to him, some suspicion or doubt of sincerity on his uncle's behalf by reason of certain appearances, fortifications, preparations, and provisions of war lately begun to be made by his Majesty within His Grace's realms and dominions of England, as a thing that should tend to offend the said nephew or his friends; His Majesty hath willed, therefore, the said Sadleir to affirm that the said preparations were only made for His Majesty's defence, and for the surety and safeguard of his subjects and realm upon certain conspiracies practised by the Bishop of Rome, his adherents and allies, intending his Grace's destruction by hook or by crook, by *fas* or *nefas*, and the subversion of his whole commonwealth. For avoidance whereof His Majesty hath caused such preparations to be made as he trusted, with the help of God, shall be able to withstand all the malice and conspiracy of the said Bishop and his consorts in such a manner that they shall have little lust to go further in their attemptates.

"And therefore his Majesty prayeth his good nephew, that whatsoever report shall be made unto him that might engender suspicion, or cause diminution, of their amity, that he will not give ear thereunto; for His Majesty intendeth to keep the whole treaty of peace and alliance between them, and will study to bring their amity to such perfection as may be the greatest comfort of both their realms that ever was; and therefore His Majesty prayeth him also that, like a gentle nephew, and a prudent and a wise prince, he will be, and continue, of like mutual disposition.

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bulla, or big seal attached to papal documents) was probably the pastoral letter before mentioned. Moreover, Sadleir was in Scotland in the beginning of June 1537, soon after King James's return from France, and there is no record of his having been there either in 1538, '39 or '41. As an instance of the irregular spelling of proper names, it is worth remarking that "Sadler," "Sadlier," and "Sadleyer" all appear on the first page of the document. Only a portion of the Instructions are here transcribed.

* I do not know what the present consisted of, but hawks were a usual present in those days, and a well-trained pair would have been acceptable to James, who was fond of hawking.

"And, further, to the intent his good nephew be not deceived under the colour of religion, and persuasion of untrue and feigned tales, that might by the craft of his uncle's enemies be set forth as things of most excellent piety and holiness. Albeit, His Majesty, knowing that his nephew continueth still in the persuasion of the Bishop of Rome's holiness, and that he is Vicar of Christ on earth; and seeing the difficulty to dissuade a thing already so beaten into his nephew's head, he is very loth to move anything concerning the said Bishop that should offend his nephew; yet, nevertheless, as the matter is of good importance to them both, he cannot but touch upon the craft, illusion, and deceitful practices of the said Bishop to both their great disadvantage; wherefore His Majesty prayeth his nephew to join the wisdom of the serpent to the simplicity of belief in God's word; that is, not to think himself, as perchance sundry of his priests would have him to be, as brute as a stock, or to mistrust that his wits, which he hath received of God, be not able to perceive Christ's word, which his grace hath left to us common to be understood by all Christian men, as well by such as be learned in the Latin tongue and heathen authors, as also by the unlearned, as the apostles were. And, further, His Majesty requireth his nephew to give no less credence to the works and deeds of the priests than to their fair painted words; and then he shall be induced to lean upon the pure word of God, and pass light upon dreams of men abused by superstition, to blind princes and other persons of much simplicity.

"His Majesty knoweth that the said Bishop and his principal ministers evilly report, backbite, and slander His Majesty to the princes of Christendom, and suborneth friars and monks to defame him to the common people, because His Grace, sticking to the word of God, has not only abolished their Roman superstitions and abuses in his realm, but has taken upon him to exercise the power and authority over the Church and clergy of England which the Bishop of Rome for many years craftily usurped from his Majesty, as he doth still usurp from his good nephew and other princes of Christendom, to their greater detriment than doubtless they be ware of.

"The said Bishop and his adherents (for the maintenance of their authority, pride, and pompous living) will do their utmost to bring all the world in an evil opinion of his Majesty, and stir them to endamage him and his subjects. Cardinal Pole, the King's rebel, wandereth about to publish a bull of the said Bishop's against His Highness, so distant and far different and wide from all equity, humanity, and reason as Hell is from Heaven; not unworthy to be compared to Hell as a very sink of all wickedness, cruelty, and tyranny, cloaked nevertheless with a cloak of religion, to abuse the simple imprudent therewith. His Highness prayeth his good nephew not to allow the publication in his dominions of this bull, which is a very ravening wolf under a sheep's skin. The practices of the prelates and clerks be wondrous, and their juggling so crafty, as unless a man be ware of it, and as occulate as Argus, he may be lightly led by the nose and bear the yoke; yea, and (yet for blindness) not know what he doeth.

"The said Sadleir shall, as of himself, affirm to the King of Scots, that he being of His uncle's privy chamber, and long acquainted with his proceedings, he knoweth the King his master's true meaning, upright dealing, and proceedings to be of such reason, truth, and innocency that he wisheth the

whole world might know the very ground and secrecies thereof. And, further, it would tend to strengthen the amity and increase the love between His Highness and his nephew, if his nephew, to inform himself of his true ground and very meaning, would take pains to meet the King's Majesty in some commodious place northward, where he would with his own mouth and word declare himself to the King, his nephew. The costs and charges would not be great, intending as His Majesty does to make progress northward for this summer, and his good nephew, not far distant from the same, might make progress thitherward. He nevertheless remitteth the same to his nephew's discretion, perceiving that, by means of the clergy, he shall, by all likelihood, be (as he was sometime afore) dissauded of the same."

There is no record of the manner in which Sadleir carried out his instructions on this occasion, or the success which attended him, except that afforded by a letter from Queen Margaret to the King, of the 7th of June, thanking him for £200, and concluding by assuring His Grace that Sadleir "guides himself so that the King, her son, is very well content with him."* We have, however, the broad and significant fact that, in spite of King James's threat to break a spear on an Englishman's breast within a year, he remained at peace with his uncle, and did not invade England in co-operation with Francis, who was on the frontier of Flanders with a large force, and ready to attack Calais should circumstances promise him success.

Henry granted the lands of the late monastery of St. Thomas the Martyr, at Lesness, or Abbey Wood, in Kent, to Sadleir in this year, and I think we may assume that the grant was a reward for the satisfactory discharge of his diplomatic duties.

Even if James had been willing to meet Henry, the opportunity did not present itself; for Queen Jane was pregnant, and the King, with tender solicitude for her health, postponed his visit to the north.†

In July, Magdalen de Valois died of consumption, leaving James V. a widower after only six months of married life.

Nor was Henry VIII. more fortunate. On the 12th of the following October Queen Jane was safely delivered of a son, at Hampton Court Palace. The King and Court were intoxicated with joy at the birth of the long-wished-for heir to the throne. Three days afterwards the young Prince was christened Edward, with great ceremony, and a grand midnight procession, with the usual concomitants of noise and light, passed through the palace, starting from the chamber of the invalid mother, who sat up for the occasion in queenly state. A cold ensued, and the Queen died a fortnight afterwards.‡

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* State Papers, Vol. V., p. 90.

† State Papers, Vol. I., p. 552.

‡ The exact date of her death is not known. At all events Hall is wrong in saying she died on the 14th of October, for she was certainly alive on the 24th, when Russell wrote to Cromwell from Hampton Court (see State Papers, Vol. I., p. 573), saying that the King

Herbert describes Jane Seymour as "the fairest, the discreetest, and most meritorious of all Henry VIII.'s wives," and the King, who really loved and respected her, mourned her loss with heart-felt sorrow. He caused 1200 masses to be said for her soul, and a solemn dirge to be sung at St. Paul's and all the London churches. He and his Court went into mourning till the following Candlemas, spending Christmas without any of the usual festivities; and in his last will, written nine years afterwards, he directed that "the bones of his loving wife, Queen Jane," should be placed in his tomb.*

And so the year 1537, which opened in political anxiety, closed in mourning for the King and Court.

The following two years passed quietly by.† The Pope, no doubt, issued at last his famous Bull, excommunicating Henry VIII., towards the close of 1538; but there was still too much animosity remaining between Francis and Charles to admit of the Catholic combination taking a practical shape against Henry, who was, moreover, well prepared to resist it.

The young Prince of Wales throve in health meantime, but that the succession should not be dependent on his life alone, the Council importuned the King to marry again. Henry admitted his readiness to do so, provided a suitable consort could be found, and Cromwell, knowing what influence a Queen might exercise over the King, fixed on Anne, sister of the Duke of Cleves, and sister-in-law of the Duke of Saxony. An alliance with the Protestant Princess of Germany would, he thought, counterbalance the Catholic combination, and tend to consolidate the Reformation. He therefore recommended His Majesty to espouse Anne of Cleves, whose charms and virtues he lauded to the skies. The Duchess of Saxony, her sister, was famed as a good wife and handsome woman, but the Princess Anne, it was said "excelleth as far the Duchess as the golden sun excelleth the silvery moon."‡

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had postponed a visit to Esher on account of her illness. Sanders, the Jesuit, originated the story that Edward VI.'s birth was effected by the Cæsarean operation; and hence also followed the improbable statement, repeated by Miss Strickland, that when the Queen was in the throes of labour, Henry was asked whether he would wish his wife or the infant to be saved. "The infant, by all means," he replied, "for other wives could easily be found." But no story against Henry VIII. could be too absurdly false for a Jesuit to invent or a woman to believe.

* The directions of the King were carried out; and when George IV. had the vaults of St. George's Chapel, Windsor, searched, in 1813, for the body of Charles I., Queen Jane's coffin was found next to the gigantic skeleton of Henry VIII., which some accident had exposed to view.

† The State Papers, Vol. I., p. 576, contain an interesting letter, dated 11th July 1538, from Sadleir to Cromwell, written by the King's desire, relative to a proposed marriage between Sir Thomas Seymour and the Duchess of Richmond, widow of the King's illegitimate son, and daughter of the Duke of Norfolk. It is probable, therefore, that Sadleir remained at Court during these two years.

‡ Cromwell to Henry VIII. State Papers, Vol. I., p. 601.

The King, however, not being content with hearsay evidence, deputed Holbein to paint her likeness, and the exquisite miniature thus obtained represented a face sufficiently lovely to induce him to conclude a marriage treaty. But when Anne arrived in England (January 1540) to perform the matrimonial contract, Henry, who looked forward with eagerness to the coming of his bride elect, was filled with disappointment and indignation. Anne was a great coarse woman, and though her features bore some resemblance to the flattering miniature, she had no pretensions to the beauty the King imagined she possessed. The courtiers who recollected the queenly graces of Anne Boleyn and Jane Seymour saw at a glance that the unprepossessing Princess of Cleves would not satisfy the fastidious taste of the morarch, who considered himself a connoisseur of female beauty.*

Henry went through the form of the marriage ceremony, though he had already resolved to procure a divorce, and angrily desired Cromwell, on whom the brunt of his resentment fell, to take immediate steps for obtaining it. The ground on which the thwarted minister urged the divorce was that Anne had been previously affianced to one of her own countrymen, and therefore, by the laws then in force, her marriage with the King was illegal.

While this delicate piece of diplomacy is being negotiated, let us again turn our attention to Scotland.

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* The King, attended by a splendid retinue, marching in procession, met Anne of Cleves on Blackheath, on her arrival from the Continent. "First issued the King's trumpets, then the King's officers being sworn of his Council, next after them followed the Gentlemen of the King's Privy Chamber (Sadleir we may presume was amongst them), some apparelled in coats of velvet, others had their coats garded with chains of gold, very rich to behold, which were well horsed and trapped; after them ensued the Barons," &c.—*Hall.*

CHAPTER VII.

SADLEIR AMBASSADOR AT THE COURT OF SCOTLAND.

(1540).

Rebellion at home and excommunication abroad, drove Henry VIII. to still severer measures against priestly influence. In 1539 the remainder of the monasteries and religious houses were suppressed, and the temporal power of the papacy was well nigh crushed in England. Not so in Scotland; the hierarchy was as rich and as powerful as ever there; Cardinal Beaton was still James's Prime Minister, and the Pope his spiritual head.

This diversity in the government of the two kingdoms tended to throw obstacles in the way of the union which Henry so much desired, and he resolved to send the skilful Sadleir to Scotland with the object of persuading James to follow his uncle's example, and eliminate Beaton and the papal element from his Council.*

A favourable opportunity now presented itself of shaking Beaton's influence with the Scottish monarch. Henry and James were on very good terms, and on the last day of the year (1539) we find James thanking his uncle for the present of a horse and the promise of six others—"a gift," as Sir Walter Scott says, "chosen with some attention to the taste and habits of the Scottish monarch. James was a good horseman; and Lindsay, in his 'complaynt,' describes the courtiers as striving to amuse him by their feats of horsemanship upon the sands of Leith."†

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* "Cardinal David Beaton, Archbishop of St. Andrew's, approached nearly to the ideal of the Romanist statesman of the age. Devoted to the Pope and to the papacy, he served his master with the unvarying consistency, with the mingled passion and calmness which, beyond all other known institutions the Roman Church has the power of imparting to its votaries. The sensual pleasures of which his profession as an ecclesiastic deprived him of the open enjoyment, he was permitted to obtain abundantly by private licentiousness. His indulgences were amply compensated by a fidelity with which they never interfered: and the surrender of innocuous vices was not demanded of a man to whom no crime was difficult which would further the interests of his cause. His scent of heresy was as the sleuth hound's, and, as the sleuth hound's, was only satisfied with blood. He was cruel when the Church demanded cruelty, treacherous and false when treachery and falsehood would serve the interests to which he had sold himself. His courage was as matchless as his subtlety: his accomplishments as exquisite as his intellect."

The above was Cardinal Beaton's character as painted by a Protestant historian (Froude). A Roman Catholic would probably represent him as a perfect saint: but in any case he was a very subtle and able politician, and a formidable opponent for a young ambassador to cope with.

† Sadler State Papers, Vol. I., p. 4.

It happened, too, about this very time, that a Scotch vessel was wrecked near Bamborough, and on one of the passengers was found a letter from Cardinal Beaton to his agent in Rome containing matter which Henry VIII. thought would compromise the Cardinal, if brought to the notice of King James, and he determined accordingly to make use of the letter for this purpose.

Thus, while the apparent object of Sadleir's new mission to the Scottish Court was for the purpose of presenting the horses to King James, the real design was of a deep political nature; and as the polished manner of the courtier masked the acumen of the statesman, so did the complimentary semblance of the embassy disguise its actual motive.

On the two former occasions that Sadleir appeared at Edinburgh, it was more as a secret envoy than as a plenipotentiary; but now he proceeded there with all the pomp and circumstance of an accredited ambassador from one king to another, and accompanied by a herald and an imposing retinue, including several attendants arrayed in suitable uniform with a Greek motto on the sleeve.

The King's letter to James V. is dated Greenwich, 27th January, 1540, and as Sadleir had reached Newcastle by 11th* of February, we may assume he set out about the 28th of January, being preceded by one Christopher Erington, in charge of the six horses for King James.

The "State Papers," which have hitherto furnished us with official information, contain no documents regarding Sadleir's embassy to Scotland in 1540 beyond those already quoted, but fortunately the link is most completely supplied by the "Sadler State Papers," which enables me to unfold an unbroken chain of events. The "instructions given by the King's Highness to his trusty and well beloved servant" are set forth in full; and Sadleir, after presenting the horses and usual courtly compliments, is, in the first place directed to secretly hand King James Cardinal Beaton's intercepted letter, and point out how the Cardinal, under colour of serving the King, his master, "laboureth to bring into his own hand the whole spiritual jurisdiction of the realm of Scotland." Secondly, to recommend King James, "seeing the untruth and beastly living of the monks, to increase his revenue by taking such of their possessions as might best be spared, instead of traflicking in cattle and sheep, as by some it was bruited." Thirdly, to remind him that if anything happened the Prince of Wales, Henry had the power of naming his successor to the crown of England,

* This is known by a letter written by Sadleir and Wharton on that date from Newcastle to the Council at York (State Papers, Vol. V., p. 171). This letter was to have been forwarded to the King, whose reply from London could have reached Newcastle in a week by express post.

and therefore it would be better for James to cultivate the favour of his uncle rather than that of the Emperor or the French King.

"In declaration of these things, the said Ralph Sadleir shall most diligently note and observe King James's countenance, gesture, and fashion, and the manner of speaking the same, that at his return he may better express the same to the King's Majesty."

Finally, Henry VIII., knowing the extent of female influence in Court circles, directed "the said Ralph to desire the King of Scots that he may, on the King's Majesty's behalf, salute the Queen,* to whom at his access he shall do His Majesty's most hearty commendations, and congratulate the good, virtuous, and honourable life between her and his good nephew, her husband." In like manner, he is to visit the old Queen, and give her most loving messages from her dearest brother.

Romance writers—aye, and historians too—are apt to draw on fancy for conversations and local details of olden time; but, thanks to Sir Ralph Sadleir's graphic communications, we have the very words and incidents that actually passed on this occasion. His letter to one of the Privy Council,† describing his reception at Edinburgh, is a good example of his descriptive powers, and will be read with interest:—

"My duty remembered unto your good Lordship, it may please you to understand that I arrived here on Tuesday, the 24th‡ of February. I did so appoint my journey that the King's horses might be in Edinburgh within three or four days after mine arrival; and afore mine entry into Scotland, I sent the herald Berwick and one of my own folks to prepare and appoint me a convenient lodging. They resorted to the Provost of the town, who was appointed to lodge me, and so he shewed them a mean lodging in a poor merchant's house which my folks liked not, and required a better. The Provost answered that the King's Council and many noblemen were lodged in the town, so that he could not appoint any better; 'but,' quoth he to Berwick, 'ye are well acquainted here; if it like you to seek abroad in the town, look where you may find any honest house that is meet for your purpose, and if it be possible to have it, ye shall.' And so, in seeking for my lodging, Berwick met one of the Queen, the King's Majesty's sister's servants, and told him that he could get no lodging for me. 'Marry,' said the Queen's servant, 'the King hath appointed the Provost to see him lodged.' Quoth Berwick, 'He will appoint none that is meet.' The Queen's servant went forthwith and told her the same, whereof she advertised the King, who immediately sent express commandment to lodge me in a reasonable fair house

* Mary of Lorraine, the accomplished daughter of the Duke of Guise, whom King James had married as his second wife.

† The letter is merely indorsed "to one of the Privy Council of England," but from its familiar style and collateral circumstances I have no doubt it was addressed to his friend, Lord Cromwell.

‡ The day of the month is not given in the original, but according to my calculation from other dates it must have been the 24th.

in the town, which his Grace named. Answer was made that the Bishop of Ross lodged there. 'I say,' quoth the King, 'in the foul evil dislodge the Bishop, and see that the house be fairly furnished against the ambassador's coming.' The Bishop was forthwith dislodged, and the lodging honestly appointed for me, both with beds and hanging of coarse tapestry and all other things necessary. I assure your lordship I am right well entertained here, specially of the King; and surely it appeareth that I am very welcome to him, and to the most part of the noblemen and gentlemen here, that be well given to the verity of Christ's word and doctrine, whereof be a great number, but the noblemen be young. And, to be plain with you, though they be well-minded, and divers others also that be of the Council and about the King, yet I see none amongst them that hath such agility of wit, gravity, learning, or experience to set forth the same, or to take in hand the direction of affairs; so that the King is, as far as I can perceive, of force driven to use the Bishops and his clergy as his only ministers for the direction of his realm. They be the men of wit and policy that I see here; they be never out of the King's ear. And if they smell anything that in the least point may touch them, or that the King seem to be content with any such thing, straight they inculk to him how Catholic a Prince his father was, and feed him both with fair words and many, in such wise as to lead him as they will; the Prince being given, as he is, to much pleasure and pastime, giving small care to his own affairs, but only committing his whole trust to them.

"But surely if he had one Counsellor well given that were a man of good stomach, and had wit, knowledge, and learning to go through with the matter, the King himself is of a right good inclination, and so is a great part of the nobility and commonalty of this realm. I assure your Lordship since my coming hither I have wished a hundred times in my heart that the King of Scots had one such servant and Counsellor as the King's Majesty hath of you; and I dare say so would many thousands in Scotland, for some of the honest men of the Court here, and well esteemed, have wished the same before me since my coming hither.

"I have no good-will of the Bishops and priests, or any of their band, which is yet too strong for the other side, as far as I can see. They raised a bruit here that I and all my folks did eat flesh here as heretics and Jews;* and thereupon a proclamation was made by the commandment of the Cardinal,† in all the churches within his dioceses, That whosoever should buy an egg or eat an egg within those dioceses, should forfeit no less than his body to the fire, to be burnt as an heretic, and all his goods confiscate to the King. And because they bruited that I and my folks did eat flesh (wherein they falsely belied me, whereupon, as I gather, the said proclamation was made), I seemed not to be content withal, and complained in honest sort to such gentlemen of the Court as resorted to me, insomuch that the King had knowledge thereof, and incontinently he sent Rothsay the herald unto me declaring that whatsoever publications were made, the King's pleasure was I should eat what I would, and that victuals should be appointed for me of what I would eat. I humbly thanked his Grace, and answered that 'I was belied and untruly said of; for I eat no flesh, nor none of my folks, nor is it

* It was in Lent † Beaton.

permitted in England in Lent. Marry, I confess I eat eggs and white meats, because I am an evil fishman,* and I think it of none offence; for if it were I would be as loth to eat it as the holiest of your priests that have thus belied me.' 'Oh!' quoth he, 'know ye not our priests? A mischief on them all! I trust the world will amend here once.' Thus I had liberty to eat what I would.

"Another bruit they made that all my men were monks, and that I had them out of the abbeys in England, and now they were serving men.† I gave a Greek word‡ on my men's coat sleeves, which is Μόνω ἄνακτι δουλέυω; the Latin whereof is *soli regi servio*.§ Now the Bishops here have interpreted my word to be, as they call it, *monachulus*, which, as they say, is in English 'a little monk,' as a diminution of *monachus*, and thus they affirmed of a verity. Whereupon they bruited that all my men were monks; but it appeareth they are no good Greeians.‖ And now the effect of my word is known, and they be well laughed for their learned interpretation. Thus I trouble your lordship with trifles to recreate you in your great affairs; and forasmuch as I have written at length to the King's Majesty of all my conferences and proceedings here since mine arrival, to which your Lordship shall be privy, I therefore omit anything thereof in these my letters, trusting to bring the next advertisement myself. And thus may the holy Trinity preserve your lordship in health, &c., &c."

Sadleir's report to the King of his proceedings at the Scotch Court is very clear and exhaustive. A few extracts will serve my purpose:—

"The day after I arrived, the King of Scots sent Rothsay, one of his heralds, unto me, to congratulate me, and to enquire after your Grace's health, &c., &c. The herald said the King thought it convenient for me to repose a day after my journey, and that he would send for me on the morrow to come into his presence. Accordingly, on the next day, being Thursday, at nine of the clock before noon, Sir William Ogilvy, Captain Borthwick, who is Lieutenant of the French King's Guard, and David Lindsay,¶ chief herald to the King of Scots, and Rothsay came to my lodgings to accompany me to

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* *i.e.*, he disliked fish.

† This clever falsehood has a good deal of humour in it, considering the time and place and persons.

‡ Motto.

§ From Sadleir's giving the Latin translation I conclude Lord Cromwell did not understand Greek.

‖ Greek scholars.

¶ The celebrated Sir David Lindsay of the Mount, so well known as a poet—

> "Still is thy name of high account,
> And still thy verse hath charms,
> Sir David Lindsay of the Mount,
> Lord Lyon, King at Arms."—*Scott.*

His satire of the "Three Estates," written about this time, is particularly severe on the clergy, and, as Sir Walter Scott observes, his bias to the tenets of the Reformers was probably peculiarly acceptable to Sadleir.

the Court. When we arrived there, they brought me into a chapel where the King was at mass, and the chapel full as well of noblemen and gentlemen, as bishops, monks, priests, and other. The King kneeled under a cloth of estate without any travail, and about him kneeled the Cardinal, divers bishops, and some noblemen. At mine entry into the chapel, place was made for me through the press, and so I was convoyed up and placed on a pire* or seat even behind the King, as he kneeled at mass. When the mass was done, the King arose and turned towards me, and so soon as he saw me, he came from under his cloth of estate and full gently embraced me and welcomed me."

Sadleir and the King had then a long conversation of a complimentary and general nature; and having appointed a confidential meeting, and given permission to visit the Queen, James "made the ambassador countenance," and committed him to the care of Ogilvy, Lindsay, and the others, who returned with him to his lodging and dined with him.

"The next day, being Friday, they all came to me again, between nine and ten afore noon, and said the King had sent them for me to come to his Grace. They brought me again to the chapel, where the Queen, the King's wife" (Mary of Lorraine), "was hearing a sermon in French, accompanied with a number of ladies and gentlewomen; the King was not there, but, as I perceived, I was brought there on purpose to see the Queen, and salute her from your Grace. I was placed on the same seat that I had the day before, and after the sermon I repaired to the Queen and gave her your gracious message" (to which the Queen replied in suitable terms), "and immediately afterwards Rothsay came to me saying the King had sent for me, and so I was forthwith brought to the King's presence in his privy chamber, where his Grace took me apart into a window,† showing to me right pleasant countenance and cheer, making semblance that he was willing to hear whatsoever I had to say."

Sadleir commenced by a brief repetition of what he said the day before, and then informed James that he expected the horses to arrive that night, and felt sure his Grace would like them when he should see them, after a rest of a day or two. He then came to the important point—Cardinal Beaton's letter—"and I told the King that 'a subject of yours, being servant, as is reported, to your Cardinal here, was by the rage and tempest of the sea driven a-land in the north part of England, very like to have been drowned.' 'Yea,' quoth he, 'that was Brunstoun, he is now newly come home.' 'This Brunstoun,' quoth I, 'when he was thus on land, by chance left certain private letters and copies behind him.' 'No,' quoth he, 'the

* The meaning of this word puzzled Sir Walter Scott, but I think it is meant for *pier* (from *pierre*) or stone projection; at all events Holinshed spells pier in this way.

† The old-fashioned windows with deep recesses were favourite places for private conversations.

letters were taken from him by the King, mine uncle's servants.' 'Indeed Sir,' I replied, 'the letters were found by the King, my master's officers, and sent up to his Majesty.' 'Well,' quoth he, 'it is no force'" (matter). And here we have an amusing instance of diplomatic honesty, for Sadleir continues his letter thus:—"Now, and it please your Highness, as I passed Bamborough, I met with John Horseley, captain of the same, who in communication told me that he had taken a packet of letters from certain Scottish men which were driven a-land there by tempest, and named the said Brunstoun to be one of them; and therefore when the King of Scots told me that the letters were taken from Brunstoun, I would not wide too far in defence thereof, but passed it over and proceeded to the matter."

The Cardinal's letter was addressed to Mr. Oliphant, Vicar of Foulis, his agent at Rome. It stated that one Thomas Hutcheson had returned from Rome with a brief from the Pope to Beaton to reinstate him in the vicarage of Dummany. This order was obtained through the influence of Sir John Duncan, a rebel to the King of Scots, and James, hearing of it, put Hutcheson and his participant, Harvey, in prison; and now Cardinal Beaton directs his agent to "solicit nothing at Duncan's inopportune solicitation that may in aways irritate the King's Majesty, considering the time is perilous, and ye shall show that we are labouring at our power to have them delivered to us as judge ordinary, and have them freed and put to liberty for the conservation of the liberty of the holy kirk."

It will be seen that there was nothing treasonable in the letter, but Sadleir, according to instructions, made the most of Beaton's double dealing, and how he laboured to bring into his own hands not only the whole spiritual jurisdiction of Scotland, but, under colour of it, the temporal power also; and he expatiated on the crafty dealings of the prelates, and to what ruin they endeavoured to bring the state of Kings that they might be rulers of all, and keep princes in their own realms their ministers and deputies, or else, by most detestable and impudent boldness, vindicate the deposing of them.

"In the declaration hereof," continues Sadleir in his report, "I observed well the King's countenance, and perceived that he gave me an attentive ear, and somewhile looked very steadily on me with grave countenance; somewhile he bit his lip and bowed his head, and when I had finished, he answered, 'By my truth there are two laws—the spiritual law and the temporal—the care of the one belongs to the Pope's Holiness, and the other to Kings; and for my part I trust I shall do my duty to God in the discharge of such things as pertain to the temporal power within this realm.'"

As to the charge against Beaton, King James said he had seen a copy of the letter before, and excused the Cardinal in every manner, stating that he himself had ordered him to put the two men in prison,

and also to deliver them. In short, it appeared that Cardinal Beaton enjoyed the full confidence of the Scottish King, and had sagaciously foreseen and prepared for the various points which the English ambassador urged. Henry VIII.'s advice regarding monastic property met with a similar untoward fate, though insinuated with all the diplomatist's wily skill :—"The King's Majesty, your uncle, wishest that ye would rather apply yourself by good and politie means to increase your revenue, by taking some of those religious houses (such as may be best spared) into your hands, which do occupy and possess a great part of the possessions of your realm to the maintenance of their volupty and idle life, and the continual decay of your estate; and the rest of them which be most notable, to alter into colleges or cathedral churches and alms-houses, as the King's Majesty, your uncle, hath done in Canterbury* and elsewhere; whereby ye shall perceive that one house so altered shall tend more to the glory of God than a number of them now doth; and yet shall ye establish thereby in such sort as ye shall be able to live like a king, and yet not meddle with sheep, nor such mean things, being matter whereupon to occupy the meanest of your people and subjects." "In good faith," replied King James, "I have no sheep,† nor occupy no such things, but such as have tacks and farms of me peradventure have such numbers of sheep and cattle as ye talk of going upon my lands, which I have no regard to; but for my part, by my truth, I never knew what I had of my own, nor yet do; I thank God I am able to live well enough on what I have, and I have friends that will not see me mister. There is a good old man in France, my good father, the King of France (I must needs call him so, for I am sure he is like a father unto me), that will not see me want anything he can help me with; nevertheless, I shall seek nothing of any man but love and friendship, and for my part I shall hold my word and behecht‡ with all princes, and for no man living shall I stain mine honour for any worldly good, with the grace of Jesu. And most heartily I thank the King's Grace, mine uncle, for his advice, but in good faith I can not do so; for me-thinks it is against reason and God's law to put down their abbeys and religious houses, which have stood there many years, and God's service maintained and keeped in the same; and God forbid that if a few of the monks be not good, for them all the rest should be destroyed."

It is impossible not to admire the young monarch's honest and open

* Christchurch monastery in Canterbury had been altered from a monastery into a collegiate church, containing eight prebendaries, ten petty canons, nine scholars, and two choristers.—*Steven's "Monasticon."*

† This was not quite true. King James owned at this time ten thousand sheep in Ettricke Forest, under charge of his shepherd, Andrew Bell.

‡ Behight, or promise.

character; but although he refused to rob the Church, he was not blind to the misdemeanours of the monks, and had threatened to reform the evil ones. Just before Sadleir arrived in Scotland, Sir William Eure informed Crumwell* that an "interlude" had been played before the Scotch Court, "the whole matter whereof concluded upon the naughtiness in religion and presumption of the bishops. After the interlude, the King of Scots did call upon the Bishop of Glasgow, and divers other Bishops, exhorting them to reform their fashion of living, saying unless they did so, he would send six of the proudest of them to his uncle of England,"—a most unpalatable threat we can well imagine.

Sadleir did not forget his message for Queen Margaret, and took occasion to ask James's permission to visit her. "Marry," said his Grace, "ye need not ask my license for that, ye may see and visit her at all times." "I humbly thanked his Grace, and so went straight to the Queen, your Majesty's sister, and made your Grace's hearty commendations, and declared that your highness, thanks be to God, was healthful and merry, and had given me special charge to visit and see her, and also to know how she was used, and how all things went there. She answered, she was glad to hear that your Grace was in good health, and also asked me of the state and health of the Queen's Grace, my mistress, whereunto I answered accordingly.† But she took it the most unkindly that might be, that she had no letter from your highness, saying that she perceived your Grace set not much by her; 'but though I be forgot,' quoth she, 'in England, I shall never forget England. It had been but a small matter to have spent a little paper and ink upon me, and much it had been to my comfort; and were it perceived that the King's Grace, my brother, did regard me, I should be the better regarded of all parties here.' I excused all things as well as I could, and satisfied her Grace right well or I departed."‡

On Saturday night the herald Rothsay brought Sadleir "wine from the King, both white and claret," and told him that the King was well content to receive the present the next morning, because his lords would see that his uncle did not forget him. The manner of spending the Sunday in Scotland before the Reformation was after the French fashion, and would shock the modern Presbyterian idea of the Sabbath.

"The next morning being Sunday," writes Sadleir, "afore nine of the clock came Sir Walter Ogilvy, Sir John Campbell, David Lindsay, the chief

* State Papers, Vol. V., p. 170.

† Sadleir evidently thought the less he said about Anne of Cleves the better.

‡ And here, too, will I take leave of the Dowager Queen of Scots. Her unpraiseworthy career was nearly finished; she died unregretted in the following year.

herald, and Rothsay to my lodging to accompany me to the Court, and so I took order that your Majesty's horses were brought thither within half-an-hour after me. At my coming to the Court I was brought again to the chapel, where I found the Queen again at a sermon. By the time the sermon was done, your Majesty's horses were come, and I was forthwith brought to the King's presence, to whom I declared I had brought his Grace such a present of horses as your Majesty had sent to him, and if it might please him to see them they were ready in the Court. 'I thank the King's Grace, mine uncle,' quoth he 'with all mine heart; come ye on with me, we will go see them.' And so he went into another chamber, where out of a window he looked into a fair court, and thither were the horses brought, which the King liked exceeding well, and praised wondrously. Christopher Erington did ride them, one after another, before him, and handled them very well. I did set them well forth, both for their kinds and ages. He praised much the Barbary horse and the jennet,* and said, 'I like them better because they be of my uncle's own brood. If the Barbary horse were bigger, he would be worth to much good, but by my truth he is a bonny beast, and so be they all.' 'Sir,' quoth I, 'your Grace may be sure the King's Majesty, your uncle, would not send them to you unless he thought them a meet present for you.' 'By my soul,' quoth he, 'I thank much his Grace, and I assure you his gentle remembrance and kindness is more pleasant and comfort to me than all the gifts and goods in the world; and I beseech you do but mind me what his Grace delighteth or taketh pleasure in, and may I ken it, if I can get it, betwixt this and the farthest part of Turkey, I shall want of my will but I shall have it for him. And be they any commodity in my realm that may stand to his pleasure, it shall be at his commandment.' And so he turned him to the lords and began to praise the horses, and every man praised them much. Immediately after came in the master-household, and told the King that his 'dinner was on the board.' Wherewith his Grace went forth to his dining chamber, washed, sat down, and so bade the lords take me with them to dinner. The Cardinal took me by the arm, and had me to a chamber where the lords used to dine. They made me sit at the highest place of the table, and entertained me very gently. There sat the Cardinal, the Bishop of Glasgow, who is Chancellor, the Earl of Huntley, the Earl of Errol, the Earl of Cassillis, the Earl of Athole, the Bishop of Aberdeen, the Lord Erskine, Sir Walter Ogilvy, Sir John Campbell, and two or three gentlemen more."

After dinner Sadleir was again conducted to the Privy Chamber of the King, who took him apart into the deep recess of a window, and there conversed with him privately for some time on the various subjects they had previously treated of. Already Sadleir had forcibly pointed out to King James the advantage of cultivating his uncle's good will and affection, and the prospect of his ultimately succeeding to the Crown of England, and had urged upon James the advisability of a meeting with Henry, as had been once intended. "Such a

* Jennets were much prized in those days, especially for ladies' use.

meeting as my Lord William (Howard) treated of," said King James, "I promise you, my Lord William* reported me untruly in that to the King's Grace, mine uncle; for he said that I did fully agree to that meeting, as by my truth I was content with it; but I told my Lord William that the lords of my realm would not agree to it." "Sir," replied Sadleir, "in my poor opinion, whosoever letted that meeting loved neither the King's Majesty, your uncle, nor yet your Grace, nor the wealth of your realms. And such a meeting might now redouble all; and such an increase of hearty love and affection might grow thereby to your subjects on both parts as should for ever establish a perfect unity and kindness between them."

Sadleir now touched again on the meeting, but King James only made half a promise, and finally gave the ambassador "a gentle countenance with his cap in his hand," and bade Sir Walter Ogilvy and Sir John Campbell accompany him to his residence.

King James wrote to his uncle on the same day to thank him for his present; and it is probable that Sadleir set out for England a day or two after—that is, about the 2nd of March—for he concludes his very interesting report thus:—"The next advertisement of my farther proceedings here I think I shall bring to your Majesty myself; for, as I understand, the King here intendeth to dispatch me away shortly, because he would go abroad in his realm about his pastime, whereunto they say he is marvellously given, and specially to hawking, both to the heron and the river."†

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* It would appear from this that Sadleir did not mention the subject during his previous mission.

† Burton, in his "History of Scotland" (1867), Vol. III., p. 359, states that "ever since his return from France an exceeding close watch was kept on the motions of King James. The eminent Sir Ralph Sadleir was sent as an ambassador to Scotland with distinct and full instructions. That sagacious man had a clear eye for all that was going on around him; but men of lower position, who would take less scrupulous means of obtaining knowledge, were sometimes required." Mr. Burton then proceeds to give instances of information thus obtained; amongst the rest how the King had secretly strengthened Dunbar, Tantallon, and other castles, and how he received overtures of homage from Irish Chieftains. (See State Papers, Vol. V., p. 178.)

CHAPTER VIII.

THE FALL OF CRUMWELL.

(1540–42.)

When Sadleir returned to Greeenwich, about the middle of March, he found Anne of Cleves still nominally Queen Consort, and the King, though annoyed and perplexed at his domestic position, making administrative changes with characteristic energy and promptness.

The affairs of State having increased very much of late, it was impossible that one Chief Secretary could conduct all the Government correspondence, even though the industry and versatility of the Lord Privy Seal (Crumwell) had helped to lighten the duties; and moreover as there were two Houses of Parliament, and as some of the Council always remained in London, while the remainder accompanied the King to Windsor and elsewhere, Henry resolved to appoint two Principal Secretaries of State. Thomas Wriothesley had succeeded Lord Crumwell as "Secretary to the King's Highness" in 1536, but his duties and position were not clearly defined, and we have accordingly seen that the work was shared by Crumwell, Sadleir, and others. It appears that Sadleir was already a member of Parliament, and the distinction of being named one of the two Principal Secretaries of State now fell to his lot.

A textual copy of the warrant is appended. It is signed by the King and has no date, but it must have been issued between the end of January 1540, when Sadleir was, according to his instructions, on going to Scotland, only a Gentleman of the Privy Chamber,* and the 7th of April of the same year, when Crumwell addressed† him as "his assured and loving friend, one of the King's Majesty's two Principal Secretaries."‡

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* The warrant, moreover, refers to the Statute of Precedence, which was only passed in 1539.

† This is the only letter from Crumwell to Sadleir in the State Papers.

‡ "Warrant for the Appointment of Two Secretaries of State.

(Signed) "HENRY, R.

"First, that Thomas Wriothesley and Raf Sadler, and every of them, shall have the name and office of the Kinges Majesties Principal Secketaryes during His Highnes pleasure; and shall receyve, to be equally divided betwene them, all such fees, droictes, dieuties, and commodities, not hereafter specially lymyted, as have, doo, or ought to belong to thoffice of His Majesties Principal Secketarye.

"Item, His Highnes hathe resolved, that every of the said Thomas Wriothesley, and

By this warrant the two Principal Secretaries of State divided certain fees, &c., between them. They kept the King's seals, to stamp state documents which were not of sufficient importance for the sign manual.* They had furnished apartments in the King's residence, and took their meals together, and in company with the Lord Privy Seal when he was at Court. In the Council Chamber and at Court they sat below the Lords, both spiritual and temporal, and some of the high officers of His Majesty's household, but took precedence of the rest of the Council and the Court.

When the King or Speaker was present in the House of Lords, both Secretaries had their places on the woolsack, but on all other occasions Sadleir sat in the House of Lords, and Wriothesley in the House of Commons, week by week, alternately.

Raf Sadler, shall, for the tyme of their being in the said office, have and kepe twoo His Graces Seales, called his Signetes; and with the same, seale al suche thinges, warraun tes, and writinges, bothe for inwarde and outwarde parties, as have been accustumed to be passed heretofore by the same; every of the sayd Thomas Wriothesley, and Raf Sadler, nevertheles, to kepe a booke, conteynying al suche things, as shall passe by either of handes, and thone to be made ever pryve to thothers registre.

"Item, His Majestie ys contented, that every of the saide Thomas Wriothesley, and Raf Sadler, shall have an ordynary chambre or lodging within the gates of His Graces house, in al places where the same may be, conveniently furnished; and every of them to have lyke bouge of courte, in al thinges, as is appointed to the Secketarye.

"Item, His Majestie is pleased, and ordeyneth, that al suche tymes as the Lorde Pryve Seale shall be present in the Courte, the said Thomas Wriothesley, and Raf Sadler, shall accompany him at his table; and whenne he shalbe absent oute of the Courte, thenne they to have his diet for themselfes, and suche other as may be appointed to that table.

"Item, His Majestie ordeyneth, that in all Counseilles, aswel in His Majesties Household, as in the Sterre Chamber, and elleswhere, all Lords, bothe of the Temporaltie and Clergie, shall sit above them; and lykewise the Threasourer, Comptroller, Maister of the Horsse, and Vicechambrelane of His Highnes Householde; thenne next aftre to be placed the said Principal Secketaries, and soo, after them, al suche other Counseillours as shal reasorte, and have place in any of the said Counseilles. And albeit that by a Statute, lately made, thoffice of the Principal Secketarye shuld be and sit contynuelly in the Upper House of the Parliament, uppon oon of the woll sackes, yet His Highnes, consi lering the goo l service that the said Thomas Wriothesley, and Raf Sadler, may doo him in the Neyther House, where they have nowe places, dothe ordeyn that, during his pleasur, they shal use themselfes as hereafter ensueth; that is to saye, on al suche dayes as the Speker shalbe presente, or that the Kinges Majeste shalbe presente, in personne, they shall attende on His Highnes and shal bothe have their places upon the said wol sacke, according to the said Statute; and, at al other tymes, thone of them to be oon weake in the Hiegh House, and thother in the Lower House, and soo he that was in the Lower House, to be the next weake in the Hiegher House; chaunging their places by cours, oneles yt be upon some special daye for matiers to be treated in the Neyther House; at which time they shal maye bothe be present there together, accordingly; and in all other places within His Graces Household, and elleswhere, his pleasure is, that they, and every of them, shall have, enjoye, and use the place of the Principal Secketary, as heretofore hathe been accustomed."

* The King, through illness or pressure of business, sometimes stamped his name instead of writing it.

Sadleir, who, in virtue of his new office, was a member of His Majesty's Privy Council,* became entitled to be styled "Right Honourable," and was soon afterwards knighted. But as Sadleir's star rose, that of his friend and patron, Crumwell, fell. Parliament opened on the 12th of May, and the Lord Privy Seal made a speech recommending unity of religious opinions on broad Christian principles—sentiments which were re-echoed by the King himself on the last occasion *he* spoke before Parliament.† A few days after, Crumwell was created Earl of Essex. The honour was the lightning flash which precedes a thunder storm.

The King grew every day more and more dissatisfied at his union with Anne of Cleves; nor was his political alliance with the Protestant princes of Germany a greater success, for a counter alliance was now threatened between Charles V. and Francis I. The marriage, therefore, socially and politically, was a complete failure, and the King laid all the blame on Crumwell. Now, at last, can the Duke of Norfolk and the nobility poison the royal atmosphere with complaints against the "low plebeian," and can Gardiner and the Catholics breathe accusations against the "arch heretic."

The calumniators of the Earl of Essex were not long in establishing a channel of communication to the King's ear by means of Catherine Howard‡—a handsome and unscrupulous young lady, who was adroitly thrown in the way of the susceptible monarch at Gardiner's house. Alas! now for Crumwell's head, and Anne of Cleves' crown! Since Wolsey's fall, ten years before, Crumwell's power had been almost supreme; "he ruled the camp, the Court, the grove."§ The Minister, in fact, was more powerful than his Sovereign. The King's jealousy once aroused could not be allayed, and no Sultan ever visited his offending Grand Vizier with quicker or direr punishment.

Witnesses, who counted not in vain on the King's support, were found who were eager to prove high treason and heresy against the Lord Privy Seal. Nor, indeed, was it difficult to prove that a minister

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* See the list of the Privy Council, p. 68.

† "The names of Papists and heretics," said Lord Crumwell, "are bandied to and fro. The holy word of God, which his Highness has permitted to be read in the vulgar tongue, for the comfort and edification of his people—this treasure of all sacred things—is abused, and made a servant of error and idolatry: and such is the tumult of opinion, that his Highness ill knows how to bear it. His purpose is to show no favour to extremes on either side. He professes the sincere faith of the Gospel, as becomes a Christian Prince, declining neither to the right hand or to the left, but setting before his eyes the pure word of God as his only mark and guide. Of forms, ceremonies, and traditions he will have the reasonable use distinguished from the foolish and idolatrous use. And his first and last prayer is for the prevailing of the Word of Christ."

‡ A niece of the Duke of Norfolk's.

§ The 52 MS. volumes of Crumwell's correspondence, still extant in the State Paper Office, bear evidence of the extent and variety of his labours and influence. Even Court love affairs were not beneath the notice of the useful and versatile premier.

who was invested with unlimited power had said and done several things in the King's name but without the King's knowledge or sanction.

On the afternoon of the 10th of June* (1540) Crumwell was present in the Council Chamber with the remainder of the Privy Council, when the Duke of Norfolk, Lord High Treasurer, who probably sat next him, suddenly rose up and said, "My Lord of Essex, I arrest you of high treason." In the evening, Crumwell was a prisoner in the Tower. "Many," says Hall, "lamented, but more rejoiced, and especially such as either had been religious† men or favoured religious persons, for they banquetted and triumphed together that night, many wishing that the day had been seven years before; and some fearing lest he should escape, although he were imprisoned, could not be merry; others, who knew nothing but truth by him, both lamented him and heartily prayed for him." Among the latter, perhaps there was no one, outside his immediate family, who regretted his downfall more than Sadleir, who was probably at the Council board when he was arrested. Archbishop Cranmer, too, was sorely grieved, and manfully but vainly interceded with the King for his fallen friend.‡

Crumwell was now a victim of a process which he himself had introduced—namely, attainder by Parliament instead of trial by law—and he lay in the Tower convicted of high treason, unheard and almost unfriended.

In his sore distress, he wrote a letter from his prison to the King, "whereof, when none durst take the carriage upon him, Sir Ralph Sadleir went unto the King to understand his pleasure whether he would permit him to bring the letter or not; which when the King granted, the said Master Sadleir, as he was required, presented the letter unto the King, which he commanded thrice to be read to him, insomuch that the King seemed to be much moved therewith."§

The letter recalled Crumwell's great services to the State and to the King, and how he also endeavoured to serve One higher than the King, and concluded by beseeching "Mercy! Mercy! Mercy!"

Sir Ralph Sadleir sympathised with the writer, and must have read the letter each time with good effect, as "the King was much moved

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* Hall says it was on the 9th of July; but see footnote, State Papers, Vol. I., p. 629.

† *i.e.* in holy orders.

‡ "I heard yesterday," he wrote to the King, "in your Grace's Council, that the Earl of Essex is a traitor. Yet who cannot be sorrowful and amazed that he should be a traitor against your Majesty?—he whose surety was only by your Majesty; he who loved your Majesty, as I ever thought, no less than God, he who studied always to set forwards whatsoever was your Majesty's will and pleasure; he that cared for no man's displeasure to serve your Majesty; he that was such a servant, in my judgment, in wisdom, diligence, faithfulness, and experience as no prince in this realm ever had."—*Lord Herbert.*

§ "State Trials," Vol. I. See also Foxe's "Acts and Monuments."

therewith;" but otherwise the appeal met with a denial, and on the 28th of July (1540) the Earl was led out to execution on Tower Hill. An official account of his last speech on the scaffold was published and circulated; but though, for the sake of his family, he was anxious to say nothing displeasing to the King, it is impossible to believe that such a proud man and true Protestant should have uttered such despicable words on the point of death, and confessed that he died "in the Catholic faith of the holy Church;"* and, indeed, we have Cardinal Pole's evidence that the reported speech was not genuine.

The prayer, however, which he said on his knees on the scaffold is characteristic of a great mind, imbued with a sense of real religion. No martyr has left us a simpler or sublimer expression of pure Christianity. Foxe records it in full. It begins and ends thus:—

"O Lord Jesus, which art the only health of all men living, and the everlasting life of them which die in thee; I, a wretched sinner, do submit myself wholly unto thy most blessed will, and being sure that the thing cannot perish which is committed unto thy mercy, willingly now I leave this frail flesh, in sure hope that thou wilt in better wise restore it to me again at the last day, in the resurrection of the just.

* * * * *

Grant me, merciful Saviour, that when death hath shut up the eyes of my body, yet the eyes of my soul may still behold and look upon thee; and when death hath taken away the use of my tongue, yet my heart may cry and say unto thee, Lord, into thy hands I commend my soul. Lord Jesus, receive my spirit! Amen."

Having said this prayer, "he patiently suffered the stroke of the axe by a ragged and butcherly miser, which very ungoodly performed the office."†

Thus perished the bold reformer and the able administrator. "Hated," says Froude, "by all those who had grown old in an earlier system—by the wealthy, whose interests were touched by his reforms; by the superstitious, whose prejudices he wounded—he was the defender of the weak, the defender of the poor, defender of the fatherless and forsaken; and for his work, the long maintenance of it has borne witness that it was good—that he did the thing which England's true interests required to be done. Of the manner in which

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* It is, however, possible that Cromwell may have meant the old catholic faith of early Christians.

† Hall. The rancour of his enemies pursued him to the last moment. Not only was an unskilful headsman provided, but to make Cromwell's death more humiliating, Lord Hungerford, who was convicted of a revolting and unnatural offence, was executed at the same time.

that work was done, it is less easy to speak. Fierce laws fiercely executed, an unflinching resolution which neither danger could daunt nor saintly virtue move to merey, a long list of solemn tragedies, weigh upon his memory. He had taken upon himself a task beyond the ordinary strength of man—the freedom of England and the destruction of idolatry; and those who, from any motive, noble or base, pious or impious, crossed his path, he crushed, and passed on over their bodies."

A century had hardly rolled on, when another statesman ruled England with equal determination and still greater power; and who can say how far Oliver Cromwell's hatred of priestcraft and kingcraft sprung from studying the character and career of his great but unfortunate ancestral relative?

Just a fortnight before the Earl of Essex was beheaded, the House of Convocation, consisting of two Archbishops, seventeen Bishops, and over a hundred clergy, pronounced Anne of Cleves' union with Henry illegal, on account of her pre-contract with the Marquis of Lorraine, and pronounced the marriage dissolved. Anne submitted with national placidity to the verdict, and cheerfully resigned her Queendom for an independent establishment at Richmond Palace, and a pension of £3000 a year. Her place on the throne was soon filled by Catherine Howard; and thus terminated, to the great satisfaction of the papal party throughout Christendom, the English monarch's social and political alliance with the Protestant powers of Germany.

Sir Thomas Wyatt and Sir John Wallop, known friends and admirers of Cromwell, were soon afterwards charged with treason, but were acquitted; Sadleir, his greatest friend of all, was cautious enough to give his enemies not even the shadow of an accusation against him, and he remained at his honoured post in the Council, where we find him designated for the first time as *Sir* Ralph Sadleir.* He was probably knighted on the previous May Day, when the King, as usual, celebrated the anniversary of his accession to the throne. Sir Ralph's early training had accustomed him to preserve important documents, and I think we may conclude it was mainly through his influence that a Clerk of the Council, William Paget, was now appointed to register and record the letters and decrees of the Council,† and hence originated

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* Knighthood was a much greater distinction then than it is now; in fact, it was an honour which even peers were proud to receive.

† "CXLV.—Appointment of Clerk of the Council.

"The tenth day of August, in the 32 yeare of the Raigne of our Soveraigne Lord, King Henry the Eight, King of England and of Fraunce, Defendor of the Faith, Lord of Ireland, and in Earth Supreame Heade, immediately under God, of the Church of England, an order was taken and determined by His Majesty, by thadvice of His Highnes Privy Counsell, whose names herunder ensue.

The Archbishop of Canterbury.
The Lord Audley of Walden, Lord Chauncellor of England.

the State Paper Department, which has since been such a reliable source to history.

Although the Protestant Prime Minister was beheaded, and a Papist Queen sat on the throne, the King would not allow the Romanists to have their own way altogether, and the Bible still remained in every parish church. The hopes of the papal party were disappointed, and new dissatisfaction ensued. In April, 1541, a new insurrection broke out in Yorkshire, under Sir John Neville, but it was quickly crushed, the ringleaders were punished, and the Countess of Salisbury, mother of Cardinal Pole, being supposed to be implicated, was beheaded.*

On the 1st of the following July the King set out on his long contemplated tour to Yorkshire, accompanied by his Queen and part of his Council. The remainder of the Council, including Cranmer (the Archbishop of Canterbury), Audley (the Lord Chancellor), Edward Seymour, Earl of Hertford, and Sir Ralph Sadleir, stayed in London.†

The object of the monarch's visit to the north was of a twofold nature—namely, to encourage the loyalty of his subjects in those parts, and to induce the King of Scots to come and meet him. The first only was accomplished. The King having passed through the part of Lincolnshire where the disturbance had been greatest, was met on the

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Thomas Duke of Norfolk, Lord High Thresorer of England.
Charles Duke of Suffolk, Great Master of the Kinge's Howse, and President of the Counsell.
William Erle of Southampton, Lord Privy Seale.
Robert Erle of Sussex, Great Chamberlaine of England.
Edward Erle of Hartford.
John Lord Russell, Great Admirall of England.
Cuthbert, Bishop of Duresme.
Steephen, Bishop of Winchester.
William Lord Sands, the Kings Chamberlaine.
Sir Thomas Cheiney, Knight, Lord Warden of the Cinque Ports, and Threasorer of the Kings Howsehowld.
Sir William Kingstone, Knight, Comptroller of the Kings Household.
Sir Anthony Browne, Knight, Master of the Kings Horse.
Sir Anthony Wingfeeld, Knight, the Kings Vice Chamberlaine.
Sir Thomas Wriothesley, Knight, the Kings Secretary.
Sir Ralph Sadleir, Knight, the Kings Secretary.
Sir Richard Rich, Knight, Chauncellor of the Augmentations.
Sir John Baker, Knight, Chancellor of the First Fruites and Tenthes.

That ther shold be a Clerke, attendant uppon the Counsell, to write, enter, and register all such derees, determinations, letters, and other such things as he should be appointed to enter in a booke, to remaine alwaies as a leeger, as well for discharging of the said Counsellors, touching such things as the shold pass, from time to time, as also for a memoriall unto them of theire owne proceedings. Unto the which office William Paget, late the Queens Secretary, was appointed by the Kings Highnes, and sworne, in the presence of the said Counsell the day and year abovesaide."—*From Vol. I. State Papers.*

* She was a daughter of the Duke of Clarence, Edward IV.'s brother, and the last of the Plantagenets.

† State Papers, Vol. I., p. 662. Most of the recorded letters from the Council in London to the Council with the King were written by Sadleir.

borders of Yorkshire by a numerous band of gentry and clergy, who made submission on their knees, and presented him with £900 as a substantial token of their loyalty. The second object, also, was very nearly attained, and perhaps on that account its failure was more annoying. When the King was at Pontefract, "one of the King of Scots' most secret Councillors" appeared at Court to arrange a meeting at York, "in ample form and honourable manner," and a "safe-conduct" was actually prepared for James V. and his train,* but the Scotch monarch did not keep his word, and the meeting never took place; and the slight or treachery on the part of his nephew and vassal, as he regarded him, was more than his indignant Majesty of England could bear with composure.

But half pleased with the results of his tour, Henry returned home in October, only to find a fresh trouble—namely, the unfaithfulness of his Queen. The less I say about this scandalous matter, the purer my pages will be. Anne Boleyn was mother of Queen Elizabeth, and her guilt or innocence is of historical importance. Catherine Howard blackened the blue blood of the Howards, but fortunately she left no descendant to bear the stain; and whatever doubt there may be about Anne's guilt, there is none about Catherine's. From the letters among the State Papers which passed between Sadleir, who was at Court with the King, and Cranmer and the Council, it is evident that the unfortunate Queen not only led an improper life before her marriage to the King, but was guilty of adultery afterwards. Derham and Culpepper, Catherine Howard's paramours, were hanged at Tyburn on the 1st of December, and on the 13th of the February following she herself was beheaded, in company with her very infamous accomplice, Lady Rochford, who had played a despicable part against her husband at Anne Boleyn's trial.

The King's connubial misfortunes very naturally gave him a distaste for married life, and the Council no longer importuned him to marry; yet after some time he actually wedded his sixth and last wife, Catherine Parr; but there was no romance nor much courtship on the occasion. She was a sensible, amiable woman, and he married her simply for companionship.

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* State Papers, Vol. I. p. 680, and Vol. V. p. 199.

CHAPTER IX.

DEFEAT OF THE SCOTCH AT SOLWAY MOSS, AND DEATH OF JAMES V.

(1542*–3.)

It was during Cardinal Beaton's absence in France that the royal meeting was arranged at Pontefract, but he returned in time to prevent it. Francis I. had just formed an alliance with the Turks against the Emperor, and if England and Scotland were reconciled and joined Charles, the result might be fatal to French interests. Beaton, who was a French Bishop as well as a Roman Cardinal, was, as before stated, the great exponent of French and Papal views in the Scottish Government. He had marvellous influence over King James, and he employed it with marked success, not only to prevent the meeting and the *entente cordiale* between uncle and nephew, but to enlist James's sympathies in favour of Francis. In this latter endeavour the Cardinal found a persuasive supporter in Mary of Lorraine, the French wife of the Scottish King.

According as James warmed towards France he cooled towards England, and Henry no longer felt disposed to cultivate the amity which Sir Ralph Sadleir had been at so much pains to establish between the two monarchs. The hostile feeling of the Court soon spread to the Border; and indeed both the English and Scotch Borderers seemed only too pleased to begin again their ancient feuds, and fight out their quarrels without the interference of the Wardens of the Marches, who, when the two nations were on good terms, kept their respective countrymen on the frontier in proper order. The Scotch commenced the depredations, and as Lord Maxwell, the Warden of the Scottish Marches, neglected to keep them quiet, the English took the law into their own hands, made reprisals, and in August 1542 Sir George Bowes, having crossed the Border in pursuit of a marauding party, fell into an ambuscade at Halydon Rigg, and was taken prisoner with several other English gentlemen.

Indignant at James's breach of promise with regard to the meeting, and angry with him for encouraging disaffection in Ireland and showing a decided leaning towards France, Henry was already on the verge of declaring war on Scotland. The affair at Halydon Rigg turned the scale, and the Duke of Norfolk with twenty thousand men was despatched to the frontier. He crossed the Border in October,

* During the first six months of the year 1542, Sadleir was on the Council at Court with the King, as several letters in the State Papers attest. On the 14 of May he was granted armorial bearings.

and for nine days laid waste the valley of the Tweed with fire and sword. He then retraced his steps, and placing about five thousand men in York for the winter, he disbanded the remainder of his army.

King James would have attacked Norfolk while in his dominions, but his principal nobles would not support him. Burning with rage, he organized, with the help of Beaton and the clergy, a secret expedition against England, consisting of about ten thousand men, including such of the nobility as were still at the beck of the priesthood. The clans were gathered secretly, one dark November night,* on the extreme west frontier—that is, as far as possible from Norfolk's force at York—and on the following morning they crossed the Border, and commenced to pillage the neighbourhood of Carlisle.

The Scotchmen had naturally expected that Lord Maxwell, or some popular chieftain, would be invested with supreme command; but instead of that, one Oliver Sinclair—a mere Court favourite—mounted an improvised platform, and read out his commission from King James as Commander-in-Chief. The indignation of the chieftains and the disobedience of the clans were the result, and the host broke up into small bands of foragers.

The English Borderers, accustomed to such raids, jumped into their saddles and galloped to the rallying points, and before noon the dashing Sir Thomas Wharton, the English Warden of the West Marches, had a compact force of five hundred stout horsemen at his command. First one marauding party was put to rout, then another, and so on. A panic seized the Scotch; they feared that the dreaded Norfolk was upon them; and as the short winter evening closed in, a general stampede towards home took place. But the Solway tide had swelled the River Esk to an unfordable extent, and the places where they had crossed in the morning could not be found in the darkness. At last, however, the fatigued and frightened fugitives—most of whom had freed themselves of their arms—having managed to cross the river somehow, floundered helplessly in the adjoining morass, and lay at the mercy of their exasperated pursuers. The majority of the chieftains were taken prisoners, but the mass received no quarter; and, in short, the whole of the Scotch army was destroyed at Solway Moss, as the marsh between the Esk and Gretna is called.

Next morning, King James, who was at Caerlaverock Castle (about ten leagues distant), received news of the disgraceful defeat of his troops; and to add to his perplexity, he soon afterwards learned that an English herald had, contrary to the sacred law of arms, been basely murdered on Scottish soil by two refugees of the Pilgrimage of Grace, who were known to be under Cardinal Beaton's protection and patronage.

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* 24th of November, 1542.

James V., though only thirty years old, had worn out his constitution with dissipation and excitement, and his misfortunes now preyed so much on his fevered mind that he died in a few weeks (14th of December, 1542). Nor were his last days mollified by the announcement of the birth of a daughter to him, just one week before his death. He is said to have murmured, "It came with a lass, and it will go with a lass,"—in allusion to the crown coming to the Stuarts by a daughter of Bruce.

The dying monarch's discontent at the birth of his little daughter was hardly warranted. Her very sex was, in the first place, the means of saving his kingdom from immediate invasion, and she afterwards became the celebrated Mary Queen of Scots, who was so beautiful and charming that few historians and no novelist can resist the chivalrous impulse of throwing the cloak of charity over the dark spots of her chequered career.

As Sir Ralph Sadleir saw her in her cradle and was a member of the Commission that, more than forty years afterwards, condemned her of high treason, she will play no unimportant part in the following pages.

Crippled by overwhelming defeat, and deprived by death of her monarch's guiding hand, unhappy Scotland was in the same helpless condition after Solway Moss as after Flodden, and Henry VIII. had a second opportunity of wreaking vengeance on her, were he so disposed. The Council of Scotland, appreciating the national danger, lost no time in apprising Henry of James's death, and in reply to his demand promised to give up "the abominable murderers" of the herald, assuring His Majesty that their "said sovereign and master, understanding in his lifetime perfectly that without heralds and ambassadors might have surety to pass and repass betwixt princes and realms, all humane society should cease, and every prince and realm would stand in perpetual discord, caused the committors of the horrible slaughter to be apprehended and surely kept, to be hereafter punished by your Highness." The Council added that "since, by the disposition of God Omnipotent, which no earthly creature can resist, our Sovereign and master, your tender nephew, is departed from this present life, to our great desolation, and has left one princess, your pro-niece, to be heritor and Queen,"* they trusted Henry would desire tranquility between the two nations, and requested safe conduct for their ambassadors to treat of peace for six months, during which time matters might be amicably arranged.

This soft answer of the Council turned away Henry's wrath, and instead of seizing on Scotland *vi et armis*, he resolved to effect the

* The Council of Scotland to King Henry VIII. Edinburgh, 21st December, 1542. (State Papers, Vol. V., p. 230).

ultimate union of the two realms by a process more politic and agreeable—namely, a betrothal between his son Edward, Prince of Wales (now five years old), and the infant Queen of Scots.

To this end the Scottish noblemen who were taken prisoners at Solway Moss, and had just arrived under escort at the Tower, were summoned before the King at Hampton Court, and the marriage question was unfolded to them. They expressed unbounded satisfaction at the proposal, and having been fêted* and enriched with costly presents, they were given their liberty, and permitted to go back to Scotland on giving a solemn promise on each of their parts to do their very utmost to bring the marriage into effect, or, failing that, to return to captivity. Henry's brother-in-law, the Earl of Angus, who all this time had been exiled from Scotland, and his brother, Sir George Douglas, accompanied their countrymen to Edinburgh, with a view of forwarding English interests.

Meantime, the Earl of Arran, who now† was the next male heir to the throne, became Regent of Scotland; and as all the blame of the recent misfortunes was laid at the door of the papal party, the "heretical" nobility were placed in power by popular accord, and Cardinal Beaton was imprisoned in Blackness Castle as a disturber of the national peace.

So far everything promised favourably for the fulfilment of Henry's wishes, and he granted peace on the conditions that the infant Queen should be sent to England to be educated, that the fortresses of Edinburgh, Stirling, and Dumbarton should be handed over to English garrisons, and that Cardinal Beaton should be imprisoned in London, out of reach of rescue.

These conditions were accepted by the Scottish Government, as peace at any price was imperative, but they were far from agreeable to the mass of the people of Scotland, or to the French King. Before a few weeks elapsed Sir George Douglas informed Lord Lisle,‡ the Warden of the East Marches, that carrying out the conditions would cause general dissatisfaction in Scotland; while, about the same time, news came across the Channel to London that the Duke of Guise was rapidly fitting out a fleet at Rouen, for the purpose of sending troops to Leith to release the Cardinal and carry back his royal niece to France.

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* "The nobles were, according to their estates, appointed to dukes, earls, knights, and gentlemen, who so entertained them that they confessed themselves never to be better used, nor to have greater cheer in all their life-time."—*Holinshed.*

Lord Monkreth was the guest of Sir Ralph Sadleir, while commoners only were billeted on the Earl of Hertford and the Bishop of Westminster—a fact which, I consider, may be accepted as a proof that Sadleir was at this time living in good style at Hackney.

† The Duke of Albany was dead.

‡ Afterwards the ambitious Duke of Northumberland.

Henry prepared a counter-stroke. He strengthened Lord Lisle's force,* and despatched the Duke of Suffolk,† Lord Parr, and Sir Ralph Sadleir to form a Council in the North, in conjunction with the eminent Cuthbert Tunstall, Bishop of Durham, and instructed them in the first place to equip ships of war at Newcastle and Hull, to intercept the Duke of Guise. The State Papers contain several letters on the subject which passed between this "Council in the North" and the Council with the King, the first of which (dated Newcastle, 26th January) states that "the utmost endeavours for the furniture and setting of six ships has been done; but the haven here is so frozen that notwithstanding all the policy and good means possible used, as well in breaking of the ice by men's labour and otherwise, the said ships be not yet gotten out."‡

But the ice also blocked in the Duke of Guise at Rouen, and hearing that his object was discovered and outflanked, he finally abandoned the expedition as hopeless.

In the meantime, matters were very unsettled in Scotland itself. The spiritual and temporal powers were at daggers drawn. No satisfactory replies came to Henry's importunities, and his patience being exhausted, he wrote a letter§ to his Council in the North directing Sir Ralph Sadleir to proceed post haste to Edinburgh:—

"Considering the tract of time which has unfruitfully passed since the decease of the late King, and how slenderly we be answered and advertised from all parties in Scotland, we have thought it more than necessary by some good means thoroughly to decipher what they intend towards us, and the things promised by the Earl of Angus and such others as were lately with us. And forasmuch as you, Sir Rauf Sadleyr, have been heretofore sundry times in Scotland, by reason whereof you have there and of their manners good acquaintance, and also that you be privy, not only to the things which were promised here, but also to all the proceedings and advertisements since that time, we think no man shall so well serve us in this purpose as you: wherefore we will and desire, that with all diligence upon the sight hereof, taking only two or three servants with you, you shall by post‖ address yourself to Edinburgh, and there reside till we shall by our special letters revoke you unto us.

"Taking order that your train and baggage may come after you: eftsoons requiring you in your own person to set forth immediately; for considering

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* State Papers, Vol. V., p. 242.

† Charles Brandon.

‡ State Papers, Vol. V., p. 244. This letter is, like the others, signed by Sadleir and the rest of the Council.

§ Henry VIII. to Suffolk, Tunstall, and Sadleir, at Newcastle, dated 13th March, 1543. (State Papers, Vol. V., p. 261.)

‖ That is, by taking fresh horses at each post. All along the northern road these post horses were established, at intervals of about 20 miles. By changing riders as well as horses, letters were conveyed from London to Edinburgh in less than five days.

the Parliament is there begun, in your speedy repair and sudden arrival there shall consist the great benefit of your journey. And for your charges our pleasure is that you our cousin of Suffolk shall cause £200 sterling to be delivered to him imprest, of our money and treasure there, to be deducted and allowed during the time of his absence after the rate of forty shillings by the day, and also that you allow him from time to time all such money as he shall spend in postage or messages."

There was a memorandum attached concerning "spial," or secret service money, as well as a design of cipher, in which Sadleir was directed to communicate very important matters.

Considering the value of money at the time, especially in Scotland, and that Sir Ralph would probably obtain free quarters in Edinburgh, forty shillings a day was a handsome allowance, and quite sufficient to keep up the commissioner's dignity.

As usual, Henry supported diplomacy with force. He directed Lord Parr to proceed to Alnwick and muster the Border troops, and put them in readiness for active service; and, further, it was added:—"Whereas, His Majesty hath written to his trusty and right well beloved Counsellor, Sir Raf Sadleyr, Knight, now in Scotland, that in case His Majesty's servants there, which stand for his Highness' party, shall have need of any present aid, he will see them furnished of a convenient number of horsemen of the Borders; His Majesty's pleasure is that if the said Sir Raf Sadleyr shall send unto the said Lord Parr for any such aid, he shall upon such advertisement take order that the number demanded may with all speed be taken from the best men of the garrisons and Border, to set forth on one hour's warning."*

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* State Papers, Vol. V., p. 267.

CHAPTER X.

MARY QUEEN OF SCOTS AS AN INFANT, AND THE TURMOIL OF WHICH SHE WAS THE INNOCENT CAUSE.

(1543.)

Sir Ralph Sadleir justly occupies a leading position in connection with the Anglo-Scottish affairs of 1543, for he was not only one of the principal actors, but he has left behind him the materials from which the history of that critical period is compiled, in the shape of about three score interesting and important documents—principally long despatches to Henry VIII., or his Council—in the family collection* of State Papers; whilst the national collection† also contains several other letters referring specially to him.

Sir Ralph lost no time in repairing to Edinburgh. He arrived there—as we learn from his despatch "to the King's Majesty of England"—on Sunday afternoon, the 19th March; that is, only six days after the order was written in London! and though "indeed weary of riding," he proceeded forthwith to the Governor, the Earl of Arran, whom he found walking in a garden at Holyrood Palace. Sadleir presented the King's letters, and Arran, after expressions of hearty welcome, informed him that the Scotch Parliament had, a few days previously, decided on despatching ambassadors at once to His Majesty regarding the marriage of Prince Edward and the infant Queen of Scots.

Having communicated this important fact, the Governor recommended Sadleir to retire and rest himself, because "he had so travelled."

Sir George Douglas‡ accompanied Sir Ralph to his "lodging," and told him that although several members showed their teeth at the beginning, "yet there was none that would bite," and that, on the whole, "Parliament had pulled together." As for Douglas himself, he

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* The Sadler State Papers, 1809. All historians worthy of the name acknowledge Sadleir's great services at this crisis. Froude and Burton in particular give him full credit; and the latter, though writing from the Scotch point of view, speaks highly of his ability and personal character. Burton describes Sadleir's graphic letters as "a contemporary chronicle of the history of the time, which, though it lasted but a few months, is an invaluable boon to the historian of the period, as being enriched with the glimpses of the interior of the Scottish world of politics—glimpses opened up by an acute, experienced, and inquisitive observer."

† The State Papers, published 1830-10, from which I have already quoted so frequently.

‡ The Earl of Angus's brother, recently returned from exile, and favourable to the English interests.

asserted he had not slept three hours any night during the past six weeks, in consequence of his anxiety and activity about "the King's Majesty's service," and that he had actually prevented the Papist Earls of Huntley (Gordon), Argyle (Campbell), Bothwell (Hepburn), and Murray from joining with the priests to form an opposite party; and that he had "insinuated himself with the Governor, and was in chief credit with him, and had caused him to pull down the Cardinal who was, and would be, the chief enemy to the King's purposes; and that he had "brought the Governor wholly to His Majesty's devotion and clean altered him from France."

Sir George added that "the marriage treaty being once concluded, everything would work smoothly between the two nations, and that time would bring the nobility so far in love with His Majesty that he would have the whole direction and obedience of the same at his pleasure. But if any attempt were now made to take the Governor from his State, or to bring the Government of this realm to the King of England, there is not so little a boy but he will hurl stones against it, and the wives will handle their distaffs, and the commons universally will rather die in it; yea, and many noblemen and clergy be fully against it, the Cardinal shall be set at liberty, and a French army invited to land." In short, Sir George Douglas gave good advice and told the truth, though he was not at heart such a sincere friend to England as he pretended to be. His brother, the Earl of Angus, Lord Somerville, the Earl Glencairn, and the rest of the lords, whom Henry had treated so generously, professed profound attachment to the King's cause, and were more or less in earnest.

Sir George Douglas came again on the following day, and told Sadleir that the Governor and Council wished to see him:—"He brought me," writes Sadleir, "into the Council Chamber, where I found a great number of noblemen and others at a long board, and divers standing, but not one bishop or priest among them. At the upper end of the board sat the Governor, and caused me to sit down by him on the bench, in the first place of all the Councillors there next to himself."

A long discussion then took place, and though Sadleir sounded the Council on the important points connected with the marriage—such as the custody of the infant Queen—and requested to know the precise instructions given to the ambassadors about to start for London, he received no satisfactory information.

Two days afterwards, Sir Ralph rode to Linlithgow,* to visit the Queen Mother, and learn *her* views with regard to her little daughter's betrothal.

The young and comely widow of James V. received the ambassador

* Twelve miles from Edinburgh.

with all the fascinating manner of a Parisian lady, and all the subtlety of a female diplomatist. Sadleir naturally expected to find the Protestant Regent, the Douglases (who were so much indebted to Henry), and the Solway captives who had been set free, all appearing anxious to forward his royal master's views; but he hardly expected to find Mary of Guise—the zealous Frenchwoman and bigoted Catholic*—"most willing and conformable in appearance," as he wrote to Henry, "to your Majesty's purpose for the marriage of her daughter to my lord prince's Grace; and also that your Majesty should have her delivered forthwith into your hands and custody, which she confesseth to be for her chief surety, and wisheth with all her heart that it were so; saying the world might justly note her to be the most unnatural and unwise woman that lived, if she should not rejoice in the same, for greater honour or benefit could not be offered to her, for throughout the world such a marriage could not be found so proper, so beneficial, and so honourable, and she cannot think otherwise but that it is the work and ordinance of God for the conjunction and union of both these realms into one."

Sadleir himself could not have stated the case more plausibly, but Mary did not stop here; she vowed she would "walk plainly on a right sort with his Majesty, as it became her not to dissemble with so noble a prince," and warned the ambassador against Arran's insincerity, for "whatsoever pretence or fairweather the Governor made," he did not mean that the marriage should take place in the end; in fact, that he intended her daughter to marry his own son, and consequently she urged the King to have the baby delivered into his hands, else the marriage would never take effect.

"And then," continued she (it must have aroused the astute ambassador's suspicion), "the Cardinal, if he were at liberty, might do much good in the same." "I told her," says Sadleir, "I thought the Cardinal would rather do hurt, for he had no affection towards England. She said he was a wise man, and could better consider the benefit of the realm than all the rest."† Nor was Sadleir's opinion of her honesty strengthened by her admitted double-dealing:—"When the Governor cometh to hear what passed betwixt us, I shall (as my custom is) make as though I were not willing to this marriage, and then, as he is a simple man, he will tell me his whole intent in that part."

Finally, she complained that Arran, who was "next heir to the throne,

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* It was her brother, the Duke of Guise, who had attempted a few months before to lead an expeditionary force to Scotland, and who subsequently gained such unenviable notoriety in connection with the massacre of Protestants on St. Bartholomew's Day.

† The bitter Anti-Papist, John Knox, did not scruple to maintain that Cardinal Beaton was the baby's real father.

and looketh to be king of the same," spread a report that the infant Queen was not likely to live, "but," writes Sadleir, "you shall see, quoth she, whether he saith true or not; and therewith she caused me to go with her to the chamber where the child was, and shewed her unto me, and also caused the nurse to unwrap her out of her clothes, that I might see her naked. I assure your Majesty it is as goodly a child as I have seen of her age,* and as like to live, with the grace of God."

Verily, Sir Ralph was one of the first to discern the personal beauty of Mary Queen of Scots!

Sir George Douglas, who had accompanied Sadleir to Linlithgow, told him that the Queen Dowager had begged of him to help her to prevent the removal of her daughter to England, "as she was too young to be carried so far." Arran expressed his opinion that although the Dowager "ought to be content with such an honourable marriage, nevertheless, being a French woman, she could not be best inclined towards England." "And thus," writes Sadleir, "your Majesty may perceive there is some juggling."

And the fact was, Mary of Guise did her best to deceive the English ambassador. The Scotch Parliament had sanctioned the reading of the Bible throughout the realm, Cardinal Beaton was in prison, a Protestant earl was regent, there was not one bishop or priest in the Council, several powerful nobles had promised to advance the King of England's views—in short, England and the Reformation were eclipsing France and Catholicism in Scotland, and Mary now endeavoured to create dissension in the Protestant camp by persuading Sadleir to distrust the Regent and to trust the Cardinal.

It will be borne in mind that there were at this time five distinct parties in Scotland—namely, the French party, the English party, the national party, the Papist party, and the Protestant party; and as a rule the Papist nobles sided with the French, and the Protestant nobles with the English party, while the mass of the people, influenced more by patriotism than religion, wished to be independent of both France and England. And bearing all this in mind, it will be understood how critical was the state of affairs, and how dangerous it would be for any one party to pledge itself to a particular line of conduct, lest it should be overwhelmed by a combination of the others; and why, though the leaders of each of the parties assured Sadleir of their adhesion to the English alliance, he received what they said *cum grano*, but was not deceived. He had only been a week in Edinburgh when he thus wrote to Lord Parr:—†

"I have travailled here, as much as my poor wit will serve me, to decipher

* Three months.

† Sadleyr to Lord Parr, 27th March, 1543. (State Papers, Vol. V., p. 271.)

the inclinations and intents of these men here towards the King's Majesty; but the matters are so perplexed that I know not what to judge of them. In mine opinion they had lever* suffer extremity than come to the obedience and subjection of England. They will have their realm free, and live within themselves after their own laws and customs; and undoubtedly the kirkmen labour by all the means they can to empeach the unity and establishment of these two realms—upon what grounds you can easily conjecture. I think assuredly all the nobles and the whole temporality desire the marriage and to join with us, and in time would abandon France; but I cannot judge the sequel."

And certainly there was enough to perplex any man. Falsehood, dissimulation, and recrimination met Sadleir at every step. The Queen Dowager† implored him not to trust Arran, and Arran entreated him not to believe the Queen Dowager. Sadleir found the Earl of Huntley "a frank and jolly young man of right good wit," and favourable to the marriage, yet Sir George Douglas denounced Huntley as "the falsest and wiliest young man in the world." Arran promised to retain Cardinal Beaton in safe custody at Blackness, a prisoner for the remainder of his life, but he allowed him to return home in a few days to his own Castle of St. Andrew's, and suffered him to reside there with little or no restraint; and when Sadleir recommended the Governor to send Beaton to England, where he would be harmless, Arran only laughed, and said "the Cardinal had lever go into hell."

All these conflicting circumstances and opinions Sadleir faithfully reported at full length to the King and his Council, writing sometimes four or five letters in a week.

This uncertain state of affairs did not at all suit Henry's impatient temperament, and he wrote letter after letter in an angry and imperious style,‡ directing his ambassador to adopt a menacing tone to the Scotch nobles, who, though unable to do much, were really the best friends he had north of the Tweed.

His master's impatience only served to increase the diplomatist's embarrassment, but nevertheless Sadleir plodded manfully on in the hopes of finding some clue to the political labyrinth. Socially, too, he found Edinburgh not such a pleasant place to reside in as it was when James V. held his gay Court there; although the Regent endeavoured to mend matters by asking him to dinner, and expressing his sorrow that he had no better cheer or entertainment. He had much ado to get wine there, and then had to pay "40*s.* a hogshead,

* For *liefer*, the old comparative of *lief*, and equivalent to *rather*.

† Mary of Lorraine, or Mary of Guise, as she is sometimes called.

‡ The letter dated St. James's, 14th April, 1543, is a good example of the King's dissatisfaction. A copy of it is in the State Papers, Vol. V., p. 289, but the original (British Museum, Caligula B. VII., leaf 304) is the best proof, for the sign manual, "Henry R.," shows from the spluttering nature of the writing that the King was in no gentle mood.

and sometimes more."* But though Henry was not satisfied with the turn Scotch affairs were taking, he gave full credit to Sadleir for zeal and ability, and, apparently on the recommendation of the Duke of Suffolk, presented him with some more Church property.†

Meantime, the Scotch ambassadors arrived in London, but they were afraid to yield to the conditions of Henry, who then angrily demanded envoys of greater power and importance. The Earl of Glencairn and Sir George Douglas were thereupon despatched‡ to England, with powers to effect a treaty; and after considerable dissension, it was at last agreed, on the 1st of July, at Greenwich, that a friendly alliance should be established between the two kingdoms, and that the infant Queen should marry the young Prince of Wales when she was ten years old, up to which age she was to reside in Scotland; but in order that she might, from earliest youth, be imbued with English feelings and associations, it was further covenanted that "an honourable knight and lady of England, with a convenient number of English men and women, not above forty, should remain near the young queen's person and under the same roof." The final clause of the treaty was that Scotland should withdraw altogether from any alliance with France.§

This treaty of peace and marriage was to be affirmed by the three estates of Scotland, and by the Governor's subscription and the Queen's great seal, and Henry wrote to Sadleir to demand its ratification, and, at the same time, appointed him and Lady Sadleir as the chief English residents about the young Queen's person.

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* See Sadleir's letter to the Duke of Suffolk, 23rd May, 1543. (State Papers, Vol. V., p. 292.)

† Ibid. The advowson referred to was probably Temple Dinsley, in Hertfordshire, which belonged to the Knights Hospitallers, and, according to local chronicles, was given to Sir Ralph in this year. Previously to this (towards the latter end of April) the King appointed Paget Secretary of State, in place of Sir Ralph Sadleir, who from his continued absence in Scotland was unable to perform the duties; but to recompense Sadleir in a pecuniary point of view, Henry made him Master of the Great "Gardrobe" (Wardrobe), lately held by Lord Windsor—a post which did not require his constant attendance at Court; in fact the duties could be done by deputy, for he wrote to the King, begging him to appoint his very good friend Mr. Wriothesley (the other Secretary) to help him to discharge the duties during his absence, and to make him joint patentee, in which case Sadleir doubted not Wriothesley was so much his friend that he would not take part of the fees, or meddle with the office on his return to England. (See Sadleir's letters to the King, Sadler State Papers, Vol. I., pp. 168 and 232.)

‡ They said they would ride from Edinburgh to London in eight days. (Sadler State Papers, Vol. I., p. 187.)

§ Sir George Douglas got the credit of suggesting the ten years' suspension, and of illustrating the wisdom of the plan by an Oriental story:—A slave, condemned to death, engaged that, if his execution were postponed for ten years, he would ere that time elapsed have taught the Sultan's favourite donkey to speak. There were three events likely to occur in that period—the Sultan might die, so might the donkey, or so might he himself.—*Burton.*

Having promised to carry out His Majesty's wishes to the utmost of his poor wit and power, Sadleir thus thanks the King for the honour he proposed to confer on him :—

"I have thought it my bounden duty to render unto your royal Majesty mine humble and lowly thanks upon my knees, for that it had pleased your Majesty to conceive such an opinion of us as to think us meet to serve your highness in a place of such trust and credit. And, as I am bounden, so shall I not fail (my life enduring), to serve most willingly, either here or wheresoever and in what sort it shall please your Majesty to command me, as serving you, also for my poor wife, that she has as good will to serve, according to your Majesty's appointment, as any woman on life; but she is most unmeet to serve for such a purpose as your Majesty hath now appointed, having never been brought up at Court, nor knowing what appertaineth thereto; so that for lack of wit and convenient experience in all behalfs she is undoubtedly not able to supply the place to your Majesty's honour; so also, though she were meet therefor, yet is she now in such case (being great with child), as she is not able to take such a long journey upon her this summer, and when winter cometh the journey is such, so long, foul, and tedious, as no woman can well travel or endure."*

Lest, however, his "highness should be frustrated" by Lady Sadleir's inability to accept the appointment, Sadleir recommended Henry to appoint "Lady Edongcomb, a grave and discreet widow of good years and experience."

But the nomination of suitable persons to train up the youthful Sovereign in the English manner was an easy matter compared with obtaining the ratification of the treaty by the three discordant estates of Scotland. Cardinal Beaton had employed the liberty which the imbecile Regent imprudently allowed him in stirring up the priests and the people in opposition to England and in favour of France; and, in point of fact, while the treaty was being signed at Greenwich, sixteen French men of war lay off the Aberdeen coast, with money and munitions for the Catholic cause, and prepared to transport the Queen Dowager and her daughter to France.

Some English cruisers, however, engaged the French vessels and put them to flight.† But the Cardinal was nothing daunted; early in July, when the terms of the treaty became known in Scotland, he assembled a Council of the whole Catholic party, spiritual and temporal, and passed vigorous resolutions against Arran's Government and the proposed alliance with England.

"The Cardinal," wrote Sadleir, "hath not only stirred almost the whole realm against the Governor, but also hath procured the Earl of

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* Sir Ralph Sadleir to the King's Majesty, 16th July, 1543. (Sadler State Papers, Vol. I., p. 229.)

† Sadleir to the King, 17th July, 1543. (Sadler State Papers, Vol. I., p. 236.)

Bothwell, the Lord Hume, the Laird of Seaford, and the Kers, which be wholly addict to him, to stir all the mischief and trouble they can on the Borders, with the intent of breeding contention and breach between the two realms."* Popular fury was raised against the English connection, and Sadleir had a narrow escape of his life :— "As I walked here in a garden," he wrote to the King, "and some of my folks with me, on the back side of my lodging, one (but I cannot tell who) shot an half-hag amongst us, and missed not one of my men, I daresay, four inches, besides other despiteous parts whereby they have largely declared their malice."†

The mean-spirited Regent, who wished to go with the tide, now wanted to get rid of the English Ambassador, and advised him to take refuge, out of harm's way, in Tantallon Castle, Lord Angus's stronghold, on the Haddington coast. But Sadleir held his ground, and encouraged Arran by offers of support from England in the shape of men and money. Arran, like most of the Scotch nobles of the period, was impecunious to the last degree, but he had none of the pluck and honour which characterized his caste. He accepted £1000 from King Henry, promised wonderful things, and at length, on the 25th of August, crowned the delusion by ratifying and confirming the treaty in Sir Ralph Sadleir's presence, and solemnly avowing the same at High Mass in the abbey church of Holyrood, to the sacred music of shawms and sackbuts.‡ And though the Cardinal and his accomplices were absent, Arran gave Sadleir to understand the treaty was concluded with their consent, and in the name of the three estates of the realm ; and yet, before another fortnight elapsed, the perjured Regent joined the Cardinal's faction, and publicly repudiated the treaty.§

Now Sadleir could no longer hold out hopes to the King that his views would be carried out, and Henry, who had conceded point after point to the Scotch ambassadors, lost all patience and declared war, seizing, as a preliminary thereto, some vessels belonging to citizens of Edinburgh. This only added fuel to the ill feeling against England which

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* Sadleir to Lord Parr, 20th of July, 1543. (State Papers, Vol. V.) In spite of the Scotch difficulty, Henry made himself happy at home, and married Catherine Parr, sister to Lord Parr, and widow of Lord Latimer, this month. Sadleir thanks Parr for the "joyful tidings."

† Sadleir to the King, 17th July, 1543. (Sadler State Papers, Vol. I., p. 237.) Half-hag probably meant a demi-hackbutt, or small matchlock.

‡ Sadleir to the King, 25th August, 1543. (Sadleir State Papers, Vol. I., p. 270.)

§ In Sir Alexander Malet's collection of MSS., is a letter from Henry VIII., dated Ampthill, 27th of October, 1543 (that is, just two months after the solemn ratification of the treaty), to the Earl of Arran, scolding the Earl for his conduct in not contradicting Cardinal Beaton, who, in presence of the King's ambassador (Sadleir) affirmed that the King's covenant with Scotland was passed by private authority. The King adds that "the Cardinal powdered his speech with lies."—*Fifth Report of the Royal Commission on Historical Manuscripts*, 1876.

Beaton had kindled in the Scotch metropolis. Sir Ralph was insulted and threatened;—"I assure you," he wrote to Lord Parr, "there never was so noble a prince's servant as I am so evil intreated as I am among these unreasonable people, nor do I think never man had to do with so rude, so inconstant, and beastly a nation as this is; they neither esteem the honour of their country, or their own honesty, nor yet—which they ought principally to do—their duty to God, and love and charity to their Christian brethren."*

Sadleir's just irritation was not the humour of the moment; twenty years afterwards, when alluding in Council to this crisis, he spoke bitterly of "the false and beggarly Scots."

As for Henry, he was greatly alarmed lest Sir Ralph should be murdered, as the herald was in the previous year, and he lost no time in sending a proclamation† to the people of Edinburgh, threatening to "exterminate" them "to the third and fourth generation," if any injury befel the sacred person of his ambassador—a threat which had the effect of securing better treatment for Sadleir for a few weeks longer. Meanwhile, the Queen Dowager, and the little Queen—who was not free from infantile deseases, but suffered from "breeding of the teeth" and small pox—were removed for safety sake from the beautiful palace of Linlithgow to the strong castle of Stirling.‡ And as an offset to the alliance of the Regent and the Cardinal, the young Earl of Lennox proposed to marry Lady Margaret Douglas, niece to the King and daughter of Earl Angus; and, as Sadleir informed His Majesty, "left the Governor and Cardinal's party, and being hitherto noted a good Frenchman.§ is now become a good Englishman, and will bear his heart and service to your Majesty."‖

But matters grew more and more unpromising for the English party at Edinburgh. The season was too far advanced to invade Scotland, and Henry pressed Sadleir to withdraw to Tantallon; but Sir Ralph, who was suffering from fever, had to delay his departure, for a messenger whom he sent to enquire as to the accommodation, "brought him word that the house was clearly unfurnished both of bedding and all manner of household stuff, and no manner of provisions or victuals within twenty miles" (Edinburgh).¶ However, he at length arrived in Tantallon

* Edinburgh, 11th September, 1543. (State Papers, Vol. V., p. 355.)

† State Papers, Vol. V., p. 324.

‡ Sir Ralph Sadleir visited them at Stirling, and reiterated his opinion that Mary was a fine child for her age; and promised to be "tall, like her mother, who was of great stature for a woman." (Sadler State Papers, Vol. I., p. 253.)

§ The Earl of Lennox had been brought up in France. Lady Margaret was now at the English Court.

‖ This marriage was to cost still more dear to its bearing on the future; for the issue of it was Lord Darnley, the ill-fated husband of Mary Queen of Scots. (Sadler State Papers, Vol. I., p. 299.)

¶ Ibid., p. 322. Angus was so long in exile, his castle was neglected.

early in November, and thus wrote of it:—"Though it be but poorly furnished, and slender lodging in it, I assure you it is of such strength* that I need not fear the malice of mine enemies, and therefore do think myself now out of danger."

But he was not so safe as he thought, for we find him stating in a letter written next day (7th Nov.), that the hero of Solway Moss, "Oliver Sinelair, lieth at a little house within two miles here of Tantallon, with three score horsemen, as I am informed, to lie in wait to catch up me or some of my servants, if we stray too far out of the bounds of this castle; which, if he should do, he thinketh he should be better able to redeem his pledge, and pay his ransom to the King's Majesty; whereof I am credibly informed by honest gentlemen, being my Lord Angus's kinsmen and servants, which dwell hereabouts, and came purposely to give me warning of the same."†

Oliver Sinelair's ambush having failed to effect its object, the Cardinal's party soon expressed dissatisfaction at Sadleir's remaining at Tantallon, and on the 17th November, Arran wrote officially as "Gubernator," to Earl Angus to cause "Schir Raufe Saidleir, Imbassatour to ye King of Ingland," to immediately depart from Tantallon, for he "daylie directit and resavit priwat writingis to and fra sundrie grite and smal within yis Realme, quhilk wes think weray suspitiouse, and contrariouse to ye common weil of Scotland, spetialye in tyme of weyr."‡

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* Sir Walter Scott gives the following description in "Marmion" of the strength of Tantallon's towers in olden time:—

"Broad, massive, high, and stretching far,
And held impregnable in war,
On a projecting rock they rose,
And round three sides the ocean flows,
The fourth did battled walls enclose
And double mound and fosse;
By narrow drawbridge, outworks strong,
Through studded gates, an entrance long,
To the main court they cross.
A parapet's embattled brow,
Did seaward round the castle go:
Its varying circle did combine
Bulwark, and bartizan, and line,
And bastion, tower, and vantage-coign.
Where'er Tantallon faced the land,
Gateworks and walls were strongly manned.
No need upon the sea-girt side;
The steepy rock and frantic tide
Approach of human step denied."

'Twas the circumstance of the "celebrated Sir Ralph Sadleir" having taken refuge in Tantallon Castle that suggested to Scott the idea of Lord Marmion's retreating there. (See notes to the 5th Canto of "Marmion," in Black's Edition of Sir Walter Scott's Poetical Works. Edinburgh, 1852.)

† Sadler State Papers, Vol. I., p. 333.

‡ State Papers, Vol. V., p. 318. I give a textual copy of the extract as a specimen of the Scotch mode of spelling English in those days.

The Earl of Angus did not obey this mandate; * on the other hand, he joined with the Earls of Cassilis, Lennox, and Glencairn, Lord Maxwell, Lord Somerville, Sir George Douglas, and his fiery son James,† and others, and took active measures to keep the papal party in check. The country was "in great garboil," and Sir Ralph continued inside the walls of Tantallon, though he "was well content to join Lord Angus's men, and be a rider with them up and down the country, like a man of war, as they do;" but considered he would thereby do more harm than good to the cause, as his presence would only tend to make the party unpopular.

At length, by the King's desire, he retired across the Border (12th December) to Berwick, having been "convoyed thither in safety from Tantallon by Sir George Douglas, accompanied by an honest company of gentlemen and their trains to the number of four hundred or thereabouts." Soon after his arrival at Berwick he received an intimation from the Privy Council that he probably would soon have to go back again into Scotland; but "considering he had been a good season forth, and that he would be glad to see his Majesty, the King wished him to repair forthwith to his presence."‡

It may be assumed that Sir Ralph lost no time in repairing to Court, in compliance with the King's summons, and was happy to spend a quiet Christmas at home after a year of such hard work and constant anxiety.

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* As a proof of the respect in which Sir Ralph Sadleir was held by the Scotch nobility, there is a letter written to him on this occasion by Earl Angus calling him "My Lord," and couched in very polite language. (Sadler State Papers, Vol. I., p. 345.)

† Afterwards the famous Earl of Morton and Regent of Scotland.

‡ State Papers, Vol. V., p. 355.

CHAPTER XI.

FURTHER HOSTILITIES WITH SCOTLAND. DEATH OF HENRY VIII.

(1544-7.)

On the departure of Sir Ralph Sadleir from Scotland the hopes of the "English" lords seem to have waned; for "at ye rood chapell of Grenesyde, besyde Edinburgh, ye 13th of January" following (1544), the Earls of Angus, Lennox, Cassilis, and Glencairn agreed to a "perfect unity" with the Governor and the Cardinal for "the faithful, trew, and manlie resistence of our auld inmemes of Ingland."* The alliance was not of long duration; the four earls soon afterwards made fresh overtures to Henry; for it appeared the English Government had no notion of abandoning its designs for the eventual amalgamation of the two realms, in accordance with the marriage treaty of the previous year, and was in fact merely drawing a long breath and waiting for the termination of the winter season to commence active operations against both Scotland and France.

The French having not only meddled in Scotch affairs, but also having seized several English vessels, Henry made up his old quarrel with Charles V., and joined him in an offensive and defensive treaty against Francis and the Turks.

The first blow being aimed at Scotland, the Earl of Hertford and Sir Ralph Sadleir were sent to the frontier in February to make the necessary preparations for war, and encourage their lukewarm adherents beyond the Border. Tunstall, Bishop of Durham, was associated with Hertford and Sadleir in this undertaking. Newcastle was the seat of this Council in the North, and there are several letters from them—all in Sadleir's handwriting—to the King or Council between the 7th of March and 23rd of April inclusive,† reporting progress, diplomatic and practical. Nor is the element of romance absent from these epistles. In one of the earliest despatches we read that the Earl of Lennox's Secretary had arrived at Newcastle on his way to Henry's Court, to press his master's suit with the Lady Margaret Douglas, "with whom," he saith, "the said Earl is so far in love that, if it so please your Majesty, that matter is like to take effect."‡ And again we find Henry writing that, "we could be contented that the said marriage do take effect between the Earl of Lennox and our

* State Papers, Vol. V., p. 355.
† State Papers, Vol. V., pp. 360–85.
‡ Ibid. p. 361.

said niece; yet forasmuch as we have promised our niece never to cause her to marry any but whom she shall find in her own heart to love, and that they never having seen one another, we know not how they shall like one another when they see together;"*—an affectionate consideration on Henry's part for which perhaps few people would give credit to that much maligned monarch.

The terms of the new agreement proposed between the King and the four Earls were, that he should send an army into Scotland, make Lennox Governor with a portion of the revenues, and favour his claim to the crown against Arran in case of Mary's death, and give rewards to Angus, Cassilis, and Glencairn. The Earls, on their part, were to do their utmost to make Henry Protector of Scotland, to deliver the young Queen into his hands, as well as the strongholds of Jedburgh, Kelso, Hume Castle, &c., to cause the word of God to be preached, and renounce the French alliance altogether.†

The Scotch Earls were perplexed. They wanted to be on the winning side, but could not foretell which party—King's or Cardinal's—would win, and meantime they were endeavouring to keep with both sides, or rather "to walk the fence." No doubt the King's advisers knew how little they were to be depended on, and though disappointed, were not perhaps much surprised to find that before the treaty could be ratified Angus had manifested "untrue and disloyal behaviour," and that Cassilis had "revolted, and also given himself to the party of the Earl of Arran and the Cardinal."‡ Lennox and Glencairn, however, remained faithful to the English cause, and though not reckoning on much assistance from them, Henry prepared to invade Scotland with unusual vigour.

Hitherto every English army invading Scotland had to cross the Border, and on its appearance on Scottish ground the fiery cross§ flashed the intelligence far and wide; the clans gathered, and when a sufficient force was collected a battle took place. So the brunt of the invasion fell generally on the Borderers, and Edinburgh seemed, like Magdala, inaccessible to a foe. But now a new feature, which has since attained to such a wonderful development—namely, the naval power of England—came into requisition, and it was determined to make a joint attack on Edinburgh by sea and by land; the main army—of which Sadleir was

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* State Papers, Vol. V., p. 365.

† Ibid.

‡ Ibid., p. 385.

§ A wooden cross, of small size, which was the extraordinary token which was first [illegible] to the [illegible] at a meeting of the sheriff's court the occasion. [illegible] cross from hand to hand, giving the name of the rendezvous [illegible] every male between the ages of sixteen and sixty was bound to repair armed to the best of his power.

Treasurer—under the Earl of Hertford's command, going by sea to Leith Fort, to be joined there by 4,000 horsemen from Berwick under Lord Evers.

Henry determined to cut the Scotch to the bone, and leave such a mark of his power and vengeance behind him as would ensure respect for all future treaties. His instructions to Hertford, therefore, were to "put the towns of Leith and Edinburgh to sack, fire, and sword, to raze the Castle of Edinburgh, if it may be done conveniently without long tarrying about it, and afterwards to pass over to Fife, to make like spoil and wasting of the country there, chiefly at St. Andrew's (the Cardinal's town), putting all to fire and sword."*

Edinburgh town was to be so razed and defaced that "there would remain for ever a perpetual memory of the vengeance of God lighted upon it for the falsehood and dishonesty" of its inhabitants.

Late in March, Lord Lisle, who was now the Lord Admiral, sailed from London with troops from the south of England. The Earl of Hertford and Sir Ralph Sadleir, with as many men as could be mustered in the northern district, were at Newcastle, in readiness to join Lisle as soon as the fleet arrived at Tynemouth. This occurred on the 18th of April, and is thus reported to the King:—"A great many of the ships, to the number of 100 sail and more, are arrived in the haven of Tynemouth, and my Lord Admiral and the wafters lie all in the seas to see the whole fleet brought in in safety, trusting they shall arrive all here to-morrow, so that now we will prepare to shipboard, and no time shall be lost, with the grace of God, as much as in us is, for the accomplishment of our charge according to our most bounden duties."†

When a favourable wind arose, the northern troops were speedily embarked, and the whole force of two hundred sail and ten thousand men arrived off Leith Fort on the 3rd of May.

The Scotch were quite unprepared for such an awful apparition as the English fleet almost within cannon shot of their metropolis. Hitherto, Caledonia ruled the waves of the North Sea; her hardy fishermen keeping their English neighbours at a respectful distance in the south. The Government had heard of Lisle's preparations, but thought they were intended for France. Brief was any hope of aid from the warlike Border clans; in a day or two, Lord Evers, with his numerous horsemen, joined Hertford, and the overwhelming force attacked and captured Edinburgh.‡ The Castle manfully withstood the attack. Hertford carried out his orders. Leith, and all the

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* State Papers, Vol. V., p. 371.

† Ibid. p. 382. Hertford, Tunstall, and Sadleir to the King. Original in Sir Ralph's writing.

‡ "The first man that fled," says Holinshed, "was the Cardinal; who, perceiving the devotion which the Englishmen had to see his holiness, had no mind to tarry."

places right and left, were set on fire, including Edinburgh itself. "Built chiefly of wood," says Burton, "and concentrated on the well known ridge rising to the Castle, the beautiful* town blazed for three days and nights, making a sight that, seen far along the Lothians and Fifeshire, left in the recollection of the people a characteristic impression of what it was to be at the mercy of the King of England." This was precisely what the King of England wished, and it is to be hoped that Sir Ralph Sadleir saw in the burning city sufficient satisfaction for the maltreatment he had received from its inhabitants the year before, from the Governor who broke his solemn oath, down to the miscreant who fired the "half-hag."

Having accomplished his purpose, Hertford directed his steps homewards; some of his army returning by sea to Newcastle, and the remainder marching with the cavalry to Berwick. By the middle of May the whole force was again in England, having lost only forty men in the expedition. Part of the troops remained on the Borders, under Lords Wharton and Evers, while the main body was transported from Newcastle to Calais, to join the army destined to operate against France, in conjunction with the Emperor Charles.

The British forces in France were divided into two *corps d'armée*. The one, under the Duke of Norfolk, marched against Montreuil; the other, under the Duke of Suffolk, laid siege to Boulogne; while the Emperor Charles, advancing from Flanders, took Ligny and besieged St. Dizier. Just as the siege of Boulogne began, the King crossed from Dover (14th July) and took supreme command. He was probably accompanied by Sir Ralph Sadleir; for in a minute of the Privy Council, written by Sadleir, at Westminster, on the 7th of July, we see that Henry appointed the Queen Regent in his absence, with the following Privy Council:—The Archbishop of Canterbury (Cranmer), the Lord Chancellor (Wriothesley), the Earl of Hertford, the Bishop of Westminster, and Sir William Petre, Secretary.† Now, Sadleir was still a member of the Privy Council, and we may conclude he formed part of the Council that accompanied the King, since he is not included amongst those who remained at home; and it is probable, too, that he acted as Treasurer-in-Chief to the English forces in France—a position of importance and trust for which he had proved himself eminently eligible.

'Twas the Emperor's wish that both his own and the English army

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* Edinburgh is certainly deserving of the term "beautiful" now, but it requires all a [illegible] Patheticke Tom to pay such a flattering compliment to the irregular old [illegible] early century.

† [illegible] Secretary of State on Wriothesley's promotion. Sadleir, though no [illegible] Secretary of State, appears to have acted as one on this occasion. (State Papers, Vol. I., p. 763.)

should march on Paris, and dictate terms to Francis from his captured capital; but Henry, with strategical prudence, objected to move so far from his base of operations while Boulogne and Montreuil remained in the enemy's hands on his line of communication and supply. Perhaps, also, he had hopes of adding these two fortresses to his French possessions. If so, half his hopes were fulfilled; for though Montreuil resisted his attack, Boulogne was taken after two month's siege, and remained in possession of the English in spite of various attempts of the French to re-capture it. Henry having thus strengthened his position on the French side of the Channel, returned as a conqueror to England.

The Emperor made peace independently with Francis, but England still remained on bad terms with both France and Scotland, and the year 1545 opened with war-clouds lowering on England from all sides. Towards the end of January, the French, to the number of fourteen thousand, attacked Boulogne; but the English garrison, under the gallant Hertford, sallied out before day-break one morning and utterly routed them. Matters were not so successful in Scotland. Throughout the winter Lord Evers had made several inroads on the Border land. The Scotch, exasperated to a high degree, were encouraged to a stouter resistance by the French operations against England, between whom and the Empire war was also imminent, and when the English made a fresh raid in February, they were surprised at Ancrum Muir by a strong force, under the Earl of Angus, and defeated with great loss; Evers, their General, being amongst the slain. At this time the Earl of Shrewsbury, Tunstall (Bishop of Durham), and Sir Ralph Sadleir formed the King's Council in the North of England, and several letters are on record which passed between them and the King during the following spring and summer.

In April, Henry informed this Council that Francis I. was preparing to send a force to Scotland, and directed them to increase the army in the north to 30,000 men, and strengthen the castles of Berwick, Wark, and Carlisle with men and ammunition.* The Earl of Hertford was appointed to command the northern army, and Sir Ralph Sadleir, in addition to his other duties, again acted as Treasurer. But it soon appeared that the French preparations were on the most extensive scale, and that the sacred soil of Albion itself was threatened with invasion. In addition, therefore, to Hertford's force on the Border, nearly one hundred thousand men were put under arms in the south

* The King's letter was dated 13th April. No time was lost in acting upon it. Shrewsbury and Tunstall, replying to it from Darlington four days afterwards, "signify further to your Grace that our companion, Sir Rafe Sadleyr, with the Lord Warden of your Middle Marches, is now surveying the states of your Castles at Berwick and Wark."

of England; the fortresses on the coast where a landing might be attempted were strongly armed and manned, and the fleet was put in fighting order under Lord Lisle.

All, in fine, was in readiness for the foe; and when, on the 18th of July, they appeared in the shape of over two hundred ships and sixty thousand men, off the Isle of Wight, with the intention of landing and seizing Portsmouth, they found the whole of the British fleet at Spithead, quite prepared to give them a warm reception. On the following three days a distant action ensued between the fleets without any material result,* and a landing on the Isle of Wight having been repulsed, the French Admiral withdrew from the attack, and was followed by Lisle into the Channel, where, after three weeks' manœuvring, a general action was expected by the English, but disease having broken out in the over-crowded French vessels, D'Annebault took refuge in his harbours, and left Lisle master of the sea and the situation; and so the invasion of Protestant England, which all Papist Europe regarded with great expectations, came absolutely to naught.

Next to the French themselves, their Scotch allies were most disappointed, and they were the next to feel the weight of Henry's arm.

Hertford, Tunstall, and Sadleir had made all preparations for crossing the Border; but before this occurred, the State Papers reveal a characteristic episode of the times which, regarded by modern eyes, is most repulsive, though quite allowable by the mediæval customs of warfare, by which it was considered fair to kill a foeman openly wherever he could be found—whether it were in the courtyard or on the field of battle. I refer to the proposed assassination of Cardinal Beaton, the leader of the French faction in Scotland, coolly mentioned in a State document as "the matter which concerneth the killing of the Cardinal."†

In the spring of the previous year, when Hertford and Sadleir were at Newcastle, previous to the burning of Edinburgh, a Scotchman called Wishart brought a letter from the Lord of Brunstone to the King, stating that the Lord of Grange, late Treasurer of Scotland, and others "would apprehend or slay the Cardinal on his way to St. Andrew's, if they knew his Majesty's pleasure therein, and what support and maintenance he would minister unto them in case they

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* [illegible] having sprung up, the English vessel "Mary Rose" [illegible] and [illegible] on the same tide the French vessel "La Maîtresse" foundered [illegible].

† [illegible] Hertford and Sadleir, State Papers, 12th July, 1545. (State Papers, [illegible] Page [illegible] Sadleir as Secretary of State in April, 1543, when Sir Ralph was sent to Scotland.

should be pursued afterwards by any of their enemies."* Wishart was "passed" to London, and had a favourable audience of the King, but the matter dropped till the next year, when Sadleir, who was again with Hertford in the north of England, received a letter from the Earl of Cassilis containing a proposal to kill the Cardinal, if His Majesty would have it done, and would promise when it were done a reward. This letter was also forwarded to the King, and in reply, the Council, writing from Greenwich, 30th May, 1544, told Hertford "that his Highness, reputing the fact not meet to be set forward expressly by his Majesty, will not seem to have to do in it, and yet, not misliking the offer, thinketh good that Mr. Sadleir, to whom the letter was addressed, should write to the Earl of the receipt of his letter containing such an offer which he thinketh not convenient to be communicated to the King's Majesty. Marry, to write to him what *he* thinketh of the matter (he shall say) that if he were in the Earl of Cassilis' place, and were able to do his Majesty good service, he would surely do what he could for the execution of it, believing verily to do thereby not only an acceptable service to the King's Majesty, but also a special benefit to the whole realm of Scotland, and would trust verily the King's Majesty would consider his service in the same."†

Sadleir wrote to Cassilis as he was directed, and next month another letter reached him from Brunstone on the same subject, to whom Sir Ralph also replied in similar terms as to Cassilis, enlarging on the advisability of the project.‡

The State correspondence on this unpleasant topic ends here, but it is sufficient to draw down a storm of abuse on Henry and his ministers as foul abettors of murder. Eve[illegible]nton, who is a very temperate writer, says:—"These ugly revel[illegible]te Papers, if they show [illegible] show others. [illegible] VIII. is an exception to [illegible] hat shall we say for the English statesmen of that age, when the spirit of chivalry was mellowing itself into that model of social excellence, the English gentleman? What for Hertford and Sir Ralph Sadler?" What, he ought to have added, shall we say of the Scotch noblemen who offered to do the deed, not through love of country, like William Tell, but simply for a reward! The scheme may or may not have been connected with

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* State Papers, Vol. V., p. 377.

† Ibid. p. 150.

‡ His letter was written early in July, just before the abortive French invasion, referring to which he thus prophetically concludes:—"As for the news here, I can advertise you of none but that the Frenchmen say much, and, I am sure, will do as little. We have so provided for them, that not only we esteem not their brags and sayings, but also shall be able to withstand all that they and all other our enemies can do, with the grace of God." (State Papers, Vol. V., p. 172).

Beaton's assassination the following year, but in any case we must not view it with the gentle light of modern ideas. Froude observes that "the expedient of assassination, which the general sense of the present time under all circumstances instinctively abhors, was admitted and approved in the sixteenth century by the best men of all persuasions," and he quotes Sir Thomas More, the most conscientious man of that day, who represents his immaculate Utopians as considering it "an act of mercy and love to mankind to prevent the great slaughter of those that must be killed in the progress of the war by the death of a few that are most guilty."

But I revert with pleasure to the more open operations against the enemy, attended though they were with "great slaughter."

When the ripened harvest promised abundant provision and spoil, Hertford crossed the Border and devastated the richest part of the country. The following extract from a despatch to the King, dated Kelso, 13th September, 1545, records the extent of damage done in one day alone:—"Yesterday we* were with the horsemen of your Majesty's army at Melrose, almost ten miles hence [illegible] burnt the abbey and the town, and taken, in our [illegible] our camp, the abbey of Dryburgh, which we bur[illegible] 13 or 14 towns or vill[illegible]untry about, where we have destroyed and burnt no little quantity of corn; insomuch that it is thought and spoken here by the gentlemen of the Borders and others that there was not so much hurt done in Scotland with fire in one raid this hundred years, except in the last journey to Edinburgh."†

Altogether, between the 8th and 23rd of September, the English "burnt, razed, and cast down" seven monasteries and friars' houses; sixteen castles, towers, and piles; five market towns, two hundred and forty-three villages, thirteen mills, and three hospitals.‡

The expedition, however, was not merely to avenge Ancrum Moor, its political object was to break up the French faction in Scotland; and it would never have been organised so strongly, or conducted so bitterly, had not France interfered and thrown her sword in the scale against England. Nor was it reasonable to expect that because

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* Sir Henry King[illegible] and Sir Robert Bowes, by whom the letter is signed, in conjunction [illegible] Hertford and Sadleir.

† [illegible] Papers, Vol. V., p. 518.

‡ [illegible] State Papers. It is worthy of remark, also, that the monasteries and religious houses [illegible] were not destroyed through a bigoted hatred of the priesthood. [illegible] Burton's appreciative description of the ruins of which may be seen at the [illegible] of the Abbeys of Kelso and Dryburgh, for instance, have much [illegible] in Scotland. The architecture [illegible] is a style of its own, differing from the structures intended [illegible] worship. The [illegible] Many a raid of the English Borderers had their [illegible] it was part of the plan that they should be besieged and demolished."

France failed to invade England, Hertford's army in the north, which cost the country the then enormous sum of £20,000 a month, should be quietly disbanded, and the Scotch allowed to escape with impunity.*

The troops of the northern army having been paid off and disbanded, except those required for the Border garrisons, the Earl of Hertford and Sir Ralph Sadleir were reasonably anxious to return home. The former, writing to Secretary Paget from Newcastle, on the 5th of October (1545), adds, "Wherefore I think this matter needeth not to stay my return or Mr. Sadleir's,† referring the same nevertheless unto the King's Majesty's most gracious pleasure."‡ The King appears to have granted their desire; for in another letter to Paget, signed by Hertford and Sadleir, from Lincoln, on the 18th of the same month, they say, "We are thus far on our way to Court."§

On their return to Court, one friendly and familiar face was missing —that of the noble and popular Charles Brandon, Duke of Suffolk, the King's valued comrade and brother-in-law. He died in the previous August, leaving two daughters, the Marchioness of Dorset and the Countess of Cumberland, the former of whom was mother to Lady Jane Grey—now a little girl nine years old, of whom more anon.

After such continuous absence on His Majesty's service, Sir Ralph was doubtless allowed to allot some of his time to his own domestic affairs, and his duties as Master of the Grand Wardrobe. The signature to the above letter is the last place his name occurs in the series of State Papers of Henry VIII.'s reign, which I have hitherto quoted so frequently; but there is a charter of Edward VI., hereafter quoted, from which we learn that in 1546 Sadleir possessed the following estates:—"The rectory, church, and advowson of Kemsey in

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* Hertford and Sadleir thus write from the Camp of Kelso, 13th September, 1545, to Sir William Paget, the Secretary of State:—"Finally, for money pray remember us: for the sum you sent last being but £10,000, will do no more than pay the cost and conduct money, with a month's wages, of the new crew of men which were called to be of this army out of Yorkshire, Cheshire, and Lancashire: and we have no money at all for the payment of this next month's wages of the garrisons, both Englishmen and strangers (viz., the Germans and Spaniard contingent), which will consume £10,000 and more."—Large subsidies had to be raised for the war expenses of this year, and not without grumbling. Alderman Read, a wealthy citizen of London, objected to the tax as unconstitutional, whereupon he was reminded that by an old statute he was bound to render military service, and ordered to join Lord Evers' force on the Border. Lord Evers was evidently directed to provide him with a warm corner, for the worthy Alderman was afterwards taken prisoner at Ancram Moor, and had to pay a handsome sum for his ransom.

† It seems that Sadleir was now on intimate and friendly terms with the Seymours. Sir Thomas Seymour, in a letter to the Earl of Shrewsbury, 24th March, 1545, concludes with—"It it please your Lordship to make my hearty commendations to Sir Ralph Sadleir, you shall do me pleasure."—*Lodge's "Illustrations of British History."*

‡ State Papers, Vol. V., p. 512.

§ Ibid. p. 515.

Worcestershire, the advowson of rectory and church of St. Martin's in London, the manors of Bromley in Middlesex, Waltham's Tong in Essex, Aston-Tinall, and North Morton in Berkshire, divers portions of tithes in Gloucestershire, and other messuages, lands, tenements, &c."* But these estates do not at all represent the entire property with which Henry VIII. had rewarded his public services. Sadleir had been also granted all the lands of Lessness Abbey, in Kent, consisting of manors in the adjoining parishes of Woolwich and Plumstead; the lands, &c., of the mitred abbey of Selby, Yorkshire, then worth £729 a year; the lands of Temple Dinsley, near Hitchen, Hertfordshire, which belonged to the Knights Hospitallers (granted 33rd year Henry VIII.), and the manor, rectory, and advowson of the vicarage of Standon, near Ware, Hertfordshire, "a parcel of the possessions of the Knights of St. John of Jerusalem," and probably many other places besides, of which I have met no record. Standon was granted to Sir Ralph in the 36th year of the King's reign, after the successful expedition to Edinburgh, under Hertford (1544). He now fixed on it as his future abode, and during the next two years (1546–7) built the magnificent mansion where he lived in splendour for many years, and near to which, in the old grey church, his honoured remains still rest in their costly tomb.†

During the year 1546 England was at peace with her neighbours, otherwise Sadleir might have been called away from his house-building; the Government, however, had some unpleasant transactions at home, in which, apparently, he was not implicated:—

The Protestant party in the kingdom, which had increased in numbers and in influence, was at this time nearly as powerful as the Papal party, and the two factions regarded each other with intense antipathy.

Gardiner, Bishop of Winchester, and the other leaders of the Catholic party, alarmed at the strides of "heresy," as they called Protestanism, endeavoured after Cromwell's death to suppress the Bible, but the King did not permit them. They now determined to check the new faith by destroying its prominent leaders as heretics, under the statute of the Six Articles; and a series of judicial persecutions ensued, which

* It will be seen from the charter, p. 103, that Sadleir was exchanging these estates with King Henry for some others, doubtless of greater value.

† It was a mistake of Fuller's to say Standon was built just before Sir Ralph's death, in 1587: local chronicles assign the above period. A stone in one of the old gables bears the inscription, "R.S. 1546." Queen Elizabeth visited Sir Ralph there in 1578, and there are several allusions to Standon in his State Papers, which show it was his home for very many years before his death. Standon is only a few miles from Great Hadham, where it will be remembered Sir Ralph's father resided for some time; we may presume, therefore, that he was acquainted with the locality, and probably liked it on account of the family association.

ended in the trial of several people, including the outspoken Hugh Latimer; but either through the King's favour or insufficient evidence all escaped supreme punishment except three persons who were burnt in 1546. Even the Queen, Catherine Parr, was nearly made a victim also; but by a good deal of tact she contrived to win back the King to her side, and Gardiner, instead of gaining his point, incurred His Majesty's lasting displeasure.

In Scotland, too, the reformed views had grown apace; George Wishart and John Knox being the most effective preachers. The former is supposed to have been the Wishart who in religious zeal plotted to kill Cardinal Beaton; at all events, he was seized on a charge of heresy and burnt to death in the Cardinal's presence at St. Andrew's in May of the same year. The smouldering animosity entertained by Wishart's party against the Cardinal now burst forth into flame. Without waiting for any promise of protection or reward from England, but urged on simply by "the wild justice of revenge," the Master of Rothes, his relatives the Leslies, young Kircaldy of Grange, and some others, stole into the castle of St. Andrew's, at break of day on the morning of the 29th of May, and despatched the Cardinal before an alarm could be given; thus delivering England and the Reformation from their most powerful opponent in Scotland.

But a still more momentous event was about to take place in England. The King, who was a victim to high living, had been in bad health for some time, and in December of this year (1546) became suddenly worse—in fact, dangerously ill.

His death was at once speculated on by the two parties in the State. Who should be the Regent to the young King, and have the direction of Church and State, was the question which agitated the public mind. The Duke of Norfolk, and his son, the Earl of Surrey, were the great lay champions of the Catholics, while the Earl of Hertford was the acknowledged head of the Protestants.

The Howards were the oldest and proudest of England's nobility, and their hated rivals, the Seymours, were ennobled but yesterday. On the other hand, Lord Hertford was uncle to the Prince, and the popular General of the army. The rash and impulsive Earl of Surrey could not keep his patience within bounds. Considering his father already as Regent, he quartered his shield with the arms of England, which only the heir apparent to the crown was entitled to do. He was also heard to express his hate to the "new men," and to swear they should "smart for it when the King was dead." A treasonable correspondence with Cardinal Pole, in which the Duke of Norfolk was also implicated, was another charge to which Surrey had laid himself open. Other crimes were also alleged, and both Duke and Earl were lodged in the Tower for high treason.

Surrey was tried first, and sentenced to death—a penalty he met with fortitude on the 13th of January.*

The Duke's high rank caused delay, through the necessity of greater formalities, and before the Bill of Attainder obtained the royal assent the King himself died, and the gallant old hero of Flodden escaped with his life.

On Thursday evening, the 27th of January (1547), a fatal change passed over the enfeebled monarch, and he died at midnight, while pressing the hand of Cranmer, who was "speaking comfortably to him of trust in God through Jesus Christ."†

No public character has suffered more at the hands of historians than Henry VIII. Neither Protestants nor Roman Catholics have done justice to him, because he kept both parties in check with a firm hand, and favoured neither one nor the other; while the maudlin chroniclers of his domestic life have represented him as a Bluebeard, and held him up to the hatred of monogamy-loving England without either analysing the circumstances of his many marriages, or contrasting favourably his lawful wedlock with the numerous adulterous amours of the other potentates of the period, Popes and all. But considering the length of his reign (nearly thirty-eight years), the changing times he kept pace with, the manliness of his foreign policy, the vigour of his administration at home, the splendour of his Court, it must be admitted that few Sovereigns of England have ever wielded her sceptre to greater purpose or with greater lustre.

To his daughters and other near relations Henry bequeathed handsome annuities; nor did he forget to distribute legacies amongst his esteemed statesmen, as "tokens of his gentle remembrance." Sir Ralph Sadleir was one of those thus honoured, and received two hundred gold marks.‡

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* Whatever may have been Lord Surrey's faults, every lover of our English literature must regret the political expediency which prematurely deprived it of the genius which enriched its infancy with so many sweet sonnets, and introduced blank verse into the language.

† Strype.

‡ A mark was worth thirteen shillings and eightpence. A copy of Henry's will is contained in "State Trials," Vol. 1.

CHAPTER XII.

THE ACCESSION OF EDWARD VI.

(1547.)

Next morning Lord Hertford rode to Hatfield, in Hertfordshire, where his nephew, the Prince of Wales, resided, and tutored him for two days as to his future course of action. He then conducted the Prince to London, where he was received with acclamation, and in a few days afterwards crowned as King.

Edward was at this time a little over nine years old; good-looking rather than robust, and well educated for his years—indeed, many consider he was over-educated, and that his physical powers were sacrificed to his mental attainments.

By Henry's will, the Government of the kingdom and the guardianship of the young King until he attained eighteen years of age, devolved on sixteen Executors, with a Council of twelve to advise and assist them. The Executors were the Archbishop of Canterbury (Cranmer), the Lord Chancellor (Wriothesley), the President of the Council (Lord St. John), Lord Russell, Lord Hertford, Lord Lisle, the Bishop of Durham (Tunstall), Sir Anthony Browne (Master of the Horse), Sir William Paget (Secretary of State), Sir Edward North (Chancellor of the Augmentations), three of the judges—viz., Sir Edward Montague, Sir Thomas Bromley, and Sir William Herbert—Sir Anthony Denny, Dr. Wotton (Dean of Canterbury), and his brother, Sir Edward (Treasurer of Calais). Of these, Cranmer, Hertford, and Lisle were avowed Reformers; Wriothesley, Tunstall, and Browne decided Catholics; and the remainder were of neutral tint.

The Council of twelve comprised Henry Fitzalan (Earl of Arundel), William Parr (Earl of Essex), Sir Thomas Cheney (Treasurer of the Household), Sir John Gage (Comptroller), Sir Anthony Wingfield (Vice-Chamberlain), Sir William Petre (Secretary of State), Sir Richard Rich, Sir John Baker, Sir Ralph Sadleir, Sir Thomas Seymour (Hertford's brother), Sir Richard Southwell, and Sir Edmund Peckham.

The King's will had appointed the above Executors "with like and equal charge;" but before the testator's lifeless body was cold, Lord Hertford buttonholed Paget in the corridor outside the chamber of death, and persuaded him to favour his design to be appointed Protector of the Realm. 'Twas, perhaps, reasonable ambition on Hertford's part. He was uncle to the young King, held a high position at Court, had distinguished himself as a General, and was popular with the masses; and with all this was he to have only the same weight in the administration of the State as the Master of the Horse or an ordinary judge? He knew, moreover, that he had several friends among his Co-Executors. No time was lost in the matter. On the 31st of January—that is, only three days after the King's death—Paget proposed in Council a Protectorate, under Hertford. Wriothesley opposed the motion most vigorously; but finding himself in a minority, finally agreed with the rest to give the Earl of Hertford "chief place, and also the name and title of the Protector of all the realms and dominions of the King's Majesty, and Governor of his most royal person, with the special and express condition that he shall not do any act but with the advice and consent of the rest of the Executors, in such manner, order, and form as in the will of the late sovereign lord was appointed and prescribed; which the said Earl promised to do accordingly." This document was signed by all the Executors except Bromley and the two Wottons, who were not present at the meeting.

This *coup d'état* being effected, Paget declared that before King Henry died he had expressed his intention of making some additions to the peerage, and had named several for dignities, with appropriate grants of Church lands.

The idea was naturally pleasing to the Council, and met with favour at their hands; and on the 16th of February they ordained that Hertford should be created Duke of Somerset; Sir Thomas Seymour, his brother, Lord Seymour of Sudleye; the Earl of Essex (that is, Parr, the Queen's brother), Marquis of Northampton; and Dudley, Lord Lisle, Earl of Warwick; Lord Wriothesley, Earl of Southampton; while Rich, Willoughby, and Sheffield were made Barons. These broadcast honours made Somerset's influence paramount, and his principal opponent, Wriothesley, was soon deprived of the Chancellorship on a flimsy pretext. There was no one now left in the Council with courage to oppose His Grace, and on the 6th of March he had a new patent for the Protectorate drawn out in Edward's name investing him with supreme power, independent of the Co-Executors. The patent, however, was countersigned by none of the Executors or Councillors except Cranmer, St. John, Russell, Northampton, Cheney, Paget, and Browne.

The Duke of Somerset was now, to all intents and purposes, an

absolute monarch; for his little nephew was a mere puppet in his hands, and the Council had less power and authority than it possessed under Henry VIII.*

Alluding to Somerset's elevation, Sir Walter Scott observes:—"In order to reconcile the rest of the King's Executors to this pre-eminence, wealth and honours were conferred on them with no sparing hand. They were named Councillors to the Protector, and a commission was issued under the great seal to warrant this new form of Government, in which, however, the Privy Councillors were raised to the same rank with the Executors. The special gratification," he continues, "destined for Sir Ralph Sadleir upon these changes seems to have been a confirmation of the large grants of church lands formerly assigned to him by Henry, with splendid additions. There is said to be an illuminated deed in existence in which Sadleir is painted on his knees, receiving from Henry and Edward a grant of all the Church lands on which the town of Clifton, near Bristol, now stands, and extending down the Severn. It would seem from the indenture below quoted, that various exchanges were made between the Crown and Sir Ralph Sadleir, all doubtless to the advantage of the grantee."

The above is a good instance of the charming freedom with which Sir Walter wrote Sir Ralph's memoir. "The indenture below quoted" is transcribed below, and a glance at it will show that it does not refer to the grants of land given by Henry to Sadleir from time to time for his services to the State, but simply confirms an exchange which Sir Ralph was evidently negotiating with the King before he died, and also grants some new property in consideration of a large sum of money paid by Sadleir into the Augmentation Court; and finally, that the document is dated 30th June, 1547—that is, five months after Somerset was appointed Protector. The fact seems to be that though Sir Ralph might have taken a leading part on Edward's accession, and gained Somerset's favour by open support, he looked upon the recent changes with some misgiving, and remained in the background. In the expeditions against Scotland, he had, as we have seen, been intimately associated with Hertford, and knew, most likely, that he was chivalrous, brave, and honourable; but ambitious, vain, and weak-minded, and destitute of the keen brain

* Somerset's "right honorable style," as it appears on State documents, ran thus:—"Edward, by the grace of God, Duke of Somerset, Earl of Hertford, Viscount Beauchamp, Lord Seymour, Uncle to the King's Highness of England, Governor of his most royal person, and Protector of all his realms, dominions, and subjects, Lieutenant-General of all his Majesty's armies, both by land and sea, Treasurer and Earl Marshal of England, Governor of the Isles of Guernsey and Jersey, and Knight of the most noble Order of the Garter." In short, few kings ever assumed such an array of astounding titles; nor, it must in fairness be added, have there been many princes with nobler mien or more commanding presence.

and strong hand necessary in those stormy times to steer the vessel of State safely through the dangers that surrounded her.*

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* "Whereas, our dear father, King Henry VIII., by indenture under the great seal of Court of Augmentation, dated Westminster, 10th March, 31st year, granted to Anthony Southwell, of his household gentlemen, *inter alia*, Allesborough Grange, and certain other lands, containing 279 acres in the whole, being the demeasne lands of late monastery of Pershore, in Worcestershire, and lying within parishes of Pershore; and also 197 acres of pasture and meadow land, lying in Pershore and Hodbury, part of possessions of said monastery for 21 years, paying annually for same and scite of said late monastery, 27£ 18s. 7½d.

And said King, by another indenture, dated 15th April, 32nd year, granted to Richard Randall, of London, *inter alia*, the sheepcote of Cotesden, county Gloucester, late reserved and occupied by abbot and convent of Wynchelcombe, in said county; together with manor of Rowell, and the tythes of said sheepcote, Rowell, and Halling, in said county for 21 years, paying annually 30£ 6s. 8d.

And said King, by another indenture, dated 10th October, 31st year, granted to Michael Cameswell, gentleman, Whitmore Grange, with houses, lands, &c., within said grange, containing 181 acres, and four acres in Whitmore Park, lately belonging to the dissolved monastery of the blessed Mary in Coventry, for 21 years, paying annually 15£ 8s. 4d.

And said King, by another indenture, dated 12th April, 32nd year, granted to Anthony Denny, Esq., the manor of Nasing or Nasingbury, in Essex, belonging to late monastery of Waltham Holy Cross, in said county, certain lands there also, and the rectory of Nasing for 21 years, paying annually 31£ 18s.

And said King, in consideration of 66£ 13s. 4d. paid into the Augmentation Court, by aforesaid Anthony Denny, granted to him by his patent, dated 28th September, 36th year, the revision of said manor and rectory of Nasing before demised, for 35 years more, paying as before.

Know ye, &c., that in consideration of the rectory and church of Kemsey, in county of Worcester, with the advowson of same granted by our faithful servant, Ralph Sadleyr, Knight, one of the Gentlemen of our Privy Chamber, to our most dear father, sealed with his seal, and dated 19th September, 38th Henry VIII., and the advowson of rectory and church of St. Martin, in London, in like manner given by said R. S. to our said father, dat 31st January, 38th year, and in consideration of the manors of Bromeley in Middlesex, Hasingefeld in Cambridgeshire, Walthamstow Long in Essex, Aston-Tinall and North Moreton in Berkshire, diverse portions of tythes in Gloucestershire, and all other messuages, lands, tenements, &c., to us by said R. S. granted by indenture, dated 10th June, 1st year, and for performance and fulfilment of the testament and last will of our said father, and for 500 marks paid to our said father by R. S., and for 1837£ 1s. 8d. paid by said R. S. into our Augmentation Court to our use; we have given and granted to R. S. the reversion and reversions of all the said premises in aforesaid indentures expressed, together with all the profits & advantages reserved. We give also the manor of Stoke Episcopi, or Bishopstoke, [illegible] late part of possessions of Bishop of Worcester, the manor of [illegible] Marsh, in [illegible], [illegible] and [illegible] of Hodbury, [illegible] of Bishop of Worcester, Sud Park and Pen Park, in said county, [illegible] Worcester, with all [illegible], &c., and the advowson [illegible], with [illegible] rights, privileges to said above grants in any [illegible] and [illegible] (Latin original).

"Whereas [illegible] Swyncomb, in county Gloucester, late appertaining to [illegible] Winchcombe, together with certain lands, a grove and wood, late to same monastery belonging, with the great and small tythes within said manor. Also, the lordship

One thing, however, is evident—that Sadleir was not raised to the peerage, though he had done greater service to the State, and possessed a larger fortune than some of those who were (Rich, Willoughby, and Sheffield, for example). It is possible he may have refused a title, like some others, or may have annoyed the Protector

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and manor of Allesborough, in county Worcester, late belonging to Pershore monastery, with all hamlets, lands, tythes, &c., therein, save certain exceptions. Also, the manor of Olveston, in county Gloucester, late possession of priory of Bath.

And certain lands in Waltham aforesaid, parcel of the possessions of late Marquis of Exeter, and Gertrude, his wife, lately attainted of high treason. Also, certain lands called Cussoners. in Waltham, the scite, &c., of the squire of the Carmelites Church, in Coventry, and the church yard of Carmelites Church, in Fleet Street, London, with the rectory of Welford, in county Gloucester.'

(Now follows a particular enumeration of all the grants before recited, both in the indentures and otherwise, with much additional minutiæ, and various amplifications; and in at least 150 lines is granted, in the fullest manner, all manner of rights and privileges in any ways appertaining thereto enjoyed by former possessors).

'Which same lordships or manors of Bishopstoke and Heinbury, and premises thereunto belonging, are now extended at the clear annual value of 119£ 14s. 1½d., the 10s. not deducted. Mansion in Stroude, &c. 10£. Manor Twynnying and Upham, 71£ 2s. 7d. Manor of Allesborough, and other premises in Allesborough, Streynsham, Hadbury, and Pershore, 79£ 12s. 6d. Allesborough Grange and demeasne lands of Pershore, 10£ 7s. 11½d. Manor of Olneston, 21£ 12s. 5½d. Manor of Rowell, &c., 29£ 6s. 8d. Whitmore Grange, &c., 12£ 8s. 4d. Messuage lands and tenements in Slackstede, late monastery of Hyde, in county Southampton, 9£ 9s. 5¾d. Manor or Farm of Woodredon, late monastery of Waltham Cross, 8£. Manor of Sewardston, &c., 27£ 4s. 10d. Manor and rectory of Nasing, 31£ 18s. Lands in Waltham, late Marquis of Exeter, and Gertrude, his wife, 6£. Cussoners Lands, 35£. Soil, scite, &c., of church of Carmelites of Coventry, 6s. 8d., and church-yard Carmelites in London, 20£. To have, hold, &c., in capite by service of twentieth part of a knight's fee, and to render annually to us, and our successors, as follows, vizt.:—For Bishopstoke, 11£ 19s. 5d. Lwynnyng, 7£ 2s. 3¾d. Allesborough, 7£ 19s. 3d. Allesborough Grange, 1£ 0s. 9½d. Olveston. 2£ 3s. 3d. Slackstede, 18s. 11½d. Whitmore, 1£ 4s. 10d. Woodredon, 10s. Sewardson, 2£ 14s. 5¾d. Nasing, 3£ 3s. 9½d. and the Messuage in Stroude, and scites of two Carmelite churches or church-yards in Burgage.'

(Then follow sundry exceptions and reservations for corrodies, pensions, collectors of rents, wardens, charges, &c. The latter are specified, and amount to 10£ 13s. 8d.)

'Witness ourselves at Westminster, 30th June (1st year).'

This is first found in the amplified grant of Bishopstoke, Heinbury, &c., late possessions of Bishop of Worcester, in following words:—'And also all that capital messuage or mansion, with the appurtenences, situate and being in the parish of Stroude, near Lidsey, late parcel of the possessions of said Bishop of Worcester, and all and singular lands, tenements, edifices, stables, gardens, orchards, &c., and also all and singular other messuages, &c. &c., lying and being in Stroude aforesaid, late parcel of the possessions of said Bishop of Worcester.'

The original instrument occupies 25 sheets. For this abstract of its contents I am indebted to Thomas Sharpe, Esq., of Coventry. Other grants to Sir Ralph Sadleir are mentioned in Dugdale's 'Warwickshire,' Dr. Thomas's edition, pages 186, 304, 487, 526; all tending to shew how deeply he participated in the spoils acquired by the sweeping work of reformation."

by sympathising with Wriothesley;* but, at all events, he remained a simple knight.

Somerset, having gratified his personal ambition, resolved to establish his own views in religion in an arbitrary and bigoted fashion unbecoming a ruler of a people whose opinions were divided. The Ultra-Protestants, knowing they had "a friend in Court," overstepped the bounds to which fear of Henry had restricted them. Early in February, the Churchwardens of St. Martin's, in London, "of their own authority," whitewashed the frescoes, pulled down the crucifix and the images of the saints, and set up instead the royal arms and texts of Scripture; in March, Ridley, at St. Paul's Cross, preached doctrines for which he would have been imprisoned under Henry, and for which he was afterwards burnt under Mary; and in the ensuing Lent, Cranmer shocked all good Catholics by eating meat.

"At last," says Froude, "the Protector gave the popular movement the sanction of the Government. Injunctions were issued in May for the general purification of the churches. From every wall and window every image commemorative of saint, or prophet, or apostle was to be extirpated and put away, so that there should remain no memory of the same. Painted glass survives to show that the order was imperfectly obeyed, but, in general, spoliation became the law of the land; the statues crashed from their niches, rood and rood-loft were laid low, and the sunlight stared in white and stainless upon the whitened aisles. The superstition which had paid an undue reverence to the symbols of holy things was avenged by the superstition of as blind a hatred."

It is to be hoped that the indiscriminate spirit of a mistaken Puritanism will never be let loose on continental churches. Imagine the splendid old window of St. Gudules, in Brussels, being shattered in pieces, or the countless artistic statues which adorn the magnificent cathedral of Milan being knocked down or defaced, to gratify a bigotry wise in its own conceit; and yet a similar Vandalism was perpetrated in England by order of her refined statesmen—men of taste and learning—in the sixteenth century!

The Catholic and Conservative party was further irritated by a "Book of Homilies," which all the bishops and clergy were enjoined

* Sadleir and Lord Wriothesley were excellent friends. It will be recollected they were Principal Secretaries of State together, and that when Sadleir was appointed Master of the Great Wardrobe during his absence in Edinburgh, he entrusted the King to make Wriothesley joint patentee; and when, in the following year, Wriothesley was promoted to Lord Chancellor, Sadleir, doubtless through his patronage, received the lucrative office of Clerk of the Hanaper, or Hanaper, under the Court of Chancery. It may be recollected that Lord Southampton succeeded to the Chancellorship, and though Sadleir retained nominally Clerkship of the Hanaper, the fees found their way into Hales's pocket—one of the Commissioners on Enclosures.

to adopt as a guide to doctrine, as well as by a "visitation" of the whole country by Commissioners ordered to examine and report on the services of the Church and the practices of the priests.

At the same time, however, Protestantism progressed by a purer and surer path. While these somewhat intolerant measures were pursued, Cranmer translated the ancient prayers of the Latin Breviary into the vulgar tongue, and compiled the noble "Book of Common Prayer" still in use.

CHAPTER XIII.

THE BATTLE OF PINKIE.

(1547.)

But the Protector had other things to think of besides religion. By Henry VIII.'s will, the Executors were directed to enforce the marriage treaty with Scotland. So Somerset now determined to invade that country, in order to compel the Scotch to break their connection with France altogether, and establish their union with England by ratifying the marriage of the two youthful Sovereigns.

To this end an army was collected of 18,000 men, of whom 6,000 were cavalry. Somerset assumed the chief command, with Lords Warwick, Dacres, and Grey de Wilton as his Lieutenant-Generals. Sir Ralph Sadleir was "named and appointed High Treasurer of the Army, by the most dread sovereign Lord King Edward VI., on the advice of the Lord Protector's Grace and others of His Majesty's most honourable Council."*

Sir Francis Brian was Captain of the light horsemen, 2000 in number, the gallant Sir Ralph Vane Lieutenant of all the men at arms and demi-lances—a splendid body of cavalry, clad in armour—and Sir Richard Leigh "Deviser of the Fortifications." Francis Fleming commanded the artillery, consisting of 15 guns on clumsy travelling carriages, preceded by a body of pioneers. "Nine hundred carts, beside many wagons" conveyed the necessary supplies for the troops on the line of march.

In fine, the army was well organised and appointed, and was, moreover, invested with all the pomp and panoply of mediæval warfare. The Duke of Somerset proceeded in royal state, surrounded by a brilliant body-guard, one of whom bore the royal standard of England. The nobility and knights were numerously represented, and the gleaming armour, nodding plumes, silken banners, and richly caparisoned horses imparted to the procession marching on to war all the imposing and magnificent effect which distinguished this chivalrous era.

The first intention was to convey the whole army by sea to Leith, as on the former occasion, but it was abandoned on account of the great number of vessels required as transports, as well as through

* Sadler State Papers, Vol. I., p. 354.

fear that the landing of the troops should be vigorously opposed; for it was unlikely that the Scotch would be taken unawares a second time. It was therefore determined that the army should march on Edinburgh by the coast road, while the fleet proceeded to Leith in a parallel line, so as to co-operate and assist when necessary.

On Sunday, the 4th of September, the army set out from Berwick in three grand divisions; the Earl of Warwick and Sir Ralph Sadleir remaining at Berwick until the whole force had crossed the Border.

Sir Francis Brian, with 400 of his light horsemen, "tended to scout a mile or two before." Dunglas, Anderwick, and various fortified castles were bombarded and destroyed *en route*. Dunbar being very strong, Somerset contented himself by simply marching past it, out of range of its guns. While passing through Mid-Haddingtonshire, bodies of Scotch horsemen hovered, Arab fashion, in his front, and he knew the main body of the enemy could not be far off. At length, on Thursday, the fifth day of his march, the Duke again came in sight of the sea, and saw not only his own fleet in the Firth, but the Scotch army encamped behind the Esk, right across his path to Edinburgh, which was only five miles distant.

Arran, who was still Regent or Governor of Scotland, had been forewarned of the coming invasion, and was immediately informed of the English army's crossing the Border by means of a line of beacons which he had erected along the coast northward from St. Abb's Head. He had at once recourse to an old Scotch custom, and despatched the "fiery crosses" in all directions, with the name of the muster place. The result was that the various clans, with praiseworthy patriotism, promptly responded to the national call, and a force of 36,000 men gathered, as directed, where Somerset found them. Even Angus, Cassilis, and the other "assured lords," though perhaps still hankering after English gold, ranged themselves at the head of their clans alongside their countrymen.

The Scotch were extremely strongly posted; their left flank being protected by the sea, and their right by a deep morass, while the Esk flowed along their front through steep banks.

On Friday, the leading English division adjoined Fawside height—one of a range of hills rising on the east bank of the Esk, and running in a north-easterly direction from the right flank of the Scotch. The centre division lay in the adjacent plain of Pinkie, while the rear division touched the sea on their right, in front of the town of Musselburgh, and communicated with the fleet.

While the English army lay thus encamped, and Somerset was deliberating in a council of war as to the best mode of attack, the Scotch cavalry, to the number of 1,500, crossed the Esk and "ranked up and down," reconnoitring the English force; whereupon Brian's light horse charged them, and a desperate cavalry fight ensued. The

Scotch were overpowered and routed by the English, who pursued, and put the whole force *hors de combat*—a loss which proved fatal to the Scotch on the following day. When the front was thus cleared of the enemy, Somerset and his staff rode forward and reconnoitred the enemy's position. He noticed that Inveresk Hill commanded their camp, and he resolved to send some of his artillery there next morning and occupy it in force. Accordingly, when the early morning came (the morning of Saturday, the 10th of September—"Black Saturday," as the Scotch ever afterwards called it), some of the English troops moved towards Inveresk, which lay between them and Musselburgh Harbour. This movement was interpreted by the Scotch as a retreat to the ships by their enemy, who having seen their strength was afraid to fight! The whole of the Scotch army, therefore, abandoned its strong position and crossed the Esk, with the intention of hemming in the English. Some crossed by Musselburgh Bridge, which was within a quarter of a mile of the harbour, but they were fired at by the English ships and put to flight; the main body, however, waded across the river, for the purpose of outflanking the English left at Fawside, and driving them into the sea without more ado.

Every tyro knows that changing front in presence of an enemy is a perilous operation, and it was with no small exultation that Somerset and his Lieutenants saw the Scotch leaving their strong position to take up a new line. No time was lost in attacking them while on the move. The cavalry were at once ordered to the front, and directed to charge, in order to check the foe until the infantry came up. 'Twas a dangerous manœuvre, and not without misgivings as to success did Lord Grey de Wilton charge at the head of 3,000 horsemen. It was against Angus's division of 8,000 men, including 1,000 warlike priests, that the charge was directed, and well did he meet it by forming "ranks to resist cavalry;" that is, front rank kneeling, with their spears—eighteen feet long—resting against their feet and pointing breast high towards the enemy, while the rear ranks standing, shoulder to shoulder, thrust the spears forward over the front rank. "In this position they stood very brave and bragging, shaking their pike points, and crying 'Come on, loons! Come on, heretics!' (from the priests probably, and such like rhetoric." Down the slope dashed the cavalry, over ploughed (fallow) fields, and across a ditch or deep drain,* which broke their ranks in several places, but on they gallop right to the pike points; but "as easily could a bare finger pass through the skin of an angry hedgehog,"† as the swords and short lances of the horsemen broke through that serried array of pikes. Several saddles were emptied, and so many horses

* The dough, or clough, which gave the name of Pinkie Clough to the battle.
† Patten.

were wounded that dreadful disorder ensued amongst the English cavalry, and the majority retreated hastily back. The braver portion, however, held their ground, and a fearful fight took place; for the Scots, gaining courage by their enemy's discomfiture, broke from their impenetrable formation, and rushed in overwhelming numbers on their remaining opponents. Those who were unhorsed were slain without mercy, and many of those still mounted were killed or wounded. Amongst the latter, Lord Grey received a pike thrust in the mouth, and Sir Arthur Darcy was severely cut on "the wedding finger of his right hand."* Amongst those chivalrous Englishmen was the Protector's chosen band, and the gallant Sir Andrew Flammock carried the royal standard into the thick of the fray. The scarlet flag, with its three yellow lions, had already attracted attention, and it is said Arran offered a large estate to the capturer. At all events, several rushed at Flammock, and crying "A King, a King!" seized on the standard; and had not "both his strength, and his heart, and his horse been good," it would have been taken; but Sir Andrew managed to escape with it, leaving, however, the broken butt of the pole in his assailants' hands.

Meantime, the portion which had retired from the combat with such precipitancy fell foul of the advancing columns of their own infantry, and the utmost confusion prevailed. This was the crisis of the battle, and had not Brian cut the Scotch cavalry to pieces on the previous day, they might now have charged the disordered English host with telling effect. As it was, the Scotch pressed forward, eager to snatch the victory thus open to them, but the tide of war was suddenly turned; for at this juncture the Earl of Warwick and Sir Ralph Sadleir—who, we may presume, was as conspicuously clad and equipped as his position warranted—with great energy and promptness rallied the horse, restored order to the foot, and led them on to meet the foe.†

The Scotch had by this time reached the ditch or "cleugh" before mentioned, and they now halted with bated breath on seeing the unexpected phalanx—which the cavalry had masked from their view—advancing steadily to the attack. In a moment Sir Peter Mewtas was

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* Married men probably then wore a wedding ring on the right hand.

† Some historians give the credit to the Duke of Somerset and Sir Ralph Vane for this timely and important service: but those whom I have copied appear correct, for at this crisis the Duke was with the artillery on the hill, and it is to be hoped the doughty Sir Ralph Vane was still fighting in front with such of his men as had stood their ground. It certainly was Warwick's troops into which the runaways galloped, and unless Sir Ralph Sadleir had now distinguished himself, it would be difficult to account for Fuller's statement that "he ordered and brought up our scattered troops (next degree to a rout), inviting them to fight by his own example, and so for his valour was made a Knight Banneret," or for Patten's remark about "his ready forwardness in the chiefest of the fray."

upon them with his "arquebutters" (arquebus or matchlock men) and fired into their faces. The archers plied their bows with fatal skill, while Fleming, who had "plucked" his artillery up the hill, enfiladed them with round shot. The Scotch line wavered, a panic seized the front ranks and spread to Arran's and Huntley's divisions, coming up to the rescue, and throwing down their arms the whole Scotch army turned and fled in all directions—except the front.

"The place they stood on was like a wood of staves strewed on the ground, as rushes in a chamber,* unpassable (they lay so thick) for either horse or man. Sundry shifts—some shrewd, some sorry—they made in their running. Some lay flat in a furrow as if dead, and were thereby passed by of the Englishmen untouched, as was reported the Earl of Angus confessed he did till his horse hapt to be brought to him. Others stayed in the river, cowering down the body at the root of some willow tree with scant the nose above water for breath. Some were seen in this race, all breathless, to fall flat down, having run themselves to death."

The English cavalry—still a large force—followed in pursuit. Holinshed, copying from the minute narrator Patten, who was present, continues to describe the bloody scene:—

"After the strewing of the footmen's weapons, began a pitiful sight of the dead corpses, lying dispersed abroad, some with their legs off, some thrust quite through the body, others their necks half assunder, many their heads cloven, with other thousand kinds of killing; after and further in chase all for the most part killed either in the head or in the neck, for the horsemen could not well reach them with the swords; and thus with blood and slaughter of the enemy this chase was continued five miles in length to the gates of Edinburgh and Leith, and in breadth near four miles from the Forth sands towards Dalkeith southwards, in all which places the dead bodies lay as thick as cattle grazing in a full replenished pasture. The river ran red with blood. Considering the shortness of time—from one to well nigh six—the mortality was so great as aforetime had not been seen. Ten thousand—some say fourteen thousand—men were slain. One great cause that the English spared so few was that at their first onset they killed all, and saved not a man that came within their danger; another reason was their cruel tyranny when they slew Lord Evers at Anerum Muir; and lastly, officers and soldiers were dressed alike, with fustian doublets over their armour, so that only a few gentlemen were saved for the sake of ransom. Amongst the latter, the Earl of Huntley, appointed in good armour, likest a gentleman of any amongst them, was taken prisoner by Sir Ralph Vane. But they killed not so many as they might, for the Lord Protector moaned with pity at the sight of the dead bodies, and rather glad of victory than desirous of slaughter, soon after five of the clock stayed the standard of his horsemen at the furthest part of their camp westward and caused the trum-

* Carpets were as yet a luxury known only to the rich, and the floors in ordinary houses were usually strewn with rushes.

pets to sound a retreat; whereat, also, Sir Ralph Sadler, treasurer (whose great diligence at that time, and *ready forwardness in the chiefest of the fray before*, did worthily merit no small commendation), caused all the footmen to stay; and then with much trouble and great pain made them to be brought in some order again—which was a thing not easily done, by reason they were all then busy in applying their market, the spoil of the Scottish camp, wherein was found good provision of white bread, ale, oaten cakes, oatmeal, mutton, butter in pots, cheese, and in divers tents good wine also; and in some tents among them was found some silver plate and chalices, which, with good devotion, ye may be sure, were plucked out of cold clouts and thrust into warm bosoms."*

Such was the battle of Musselburgh, Pinkie Cleugh, or Pinkie—the last pitched battle between the English and Scotch before the union.

For the English "it was a glorious victory," in a military sense, but politically it was a mistake. The Queen Dowager and the young Queen escaped to Stirling, out of harm's way. So all Somerset could do, after the battle, was to strengthen and garrison Haddington and other strongholds—"as a foothold in the country"—and march homewards, the Scotch having promised to send Commissioners to Berwick to arrange terms of peace.

Before, however, the English army left the scene of its victory, the Lord Protector, acting as King, made three Knight Bannerets and forty-nine Knights.

"Sir Ralph Sadleir (Treasurer), Sir Francis Brian (Captain of the Light Horsemen), Sir Ralph Vane (Lieutenant of all the Horsemen),

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* I must not omit to mention a supposed exploit of Sir Ralph Sadleir's at Pinkie Cleugh:—"According to tradition," says Sir Walter Scott, "he seized with his own hand the royal standard of Scotland. A tall standard pole, plated with iron as high as a horseman's sword could reach, long remained beside his tomb. It was believed to have been the staff from which the Scottish banner was displayed, and was appealed to for the truth of the tradition."

Now Arran, as Regent of Scotland, had, like the Protector of England, a right to fly a royal standard, and as he and his division were amongst the fugitives, a well-mounted Englishman might have succeeded in capturing the standard. On the other hand, such an exploit would have been well known throughout the army, and Patten, the minute historian of the expedition, would have delighted in narrating it. Sir Walter Scott says Patten also omitted to mention that Sir Ralph Sadleir was dubbed Knight Banneret; but Sir Walter wrongs the historian, for Sir Ralph's name appears first in the "list of dignities which Master Patten hath set down out of the heralds' book." The pole referred to appears to have been removed to Gilston Park, the neighbouring residence of Mr. Plumer, but it has been replaced, and again stands beside Sir Ralph's tomb, with his sword, battle-axe, and spurs. It is sixteen feet long, and bound spirally with hoop-iron from end to end. I think it probable that it is the pole of his pennon as Banneret (so-called from the right it conferred of displaying a banner); the tradition, however, still remains that it is the royal standard pole of Scotland, and certainly it is a curious fact in support of it that Queen Elizabeth granted a new coat of arms to Sir Ralph Sadleir which bore a close resemblance to the Royal Arms of Scotland—a shield or, with lion rampant gules.

these Knights were made Bannerets—a dignity above a Knight and next to a Baron."* These three Knights had signally distinguished themselves. Sadleir had rallied the English troops at the critical moment, Brian had annihilated the enemy's cavalry, and Vane, in addition to his prowess in the grand charge, had taken the Earl of Huntley prisoner.

Among those who received the honour of simple knighthood were Lord Grey de Wilton, Lord Edward Seymour (the Protector's son), and Lord Thomas Howard, who had also distinguished themselves in the cavalry charge, and Francis Fleming, the skilful commander of the artillery. In fact, all these honours were well deserved, and Somerset exercised sound judgment in his selection of the recipients.

"The rank," says Sir Walter Scott, "to which Sir Ralph Sadleir was thus raised from the degree of Knight Bachelor may be called the very pinnacle of chivalry. Knight Bannerets could only be created by the King himself, or, which was very rare, by a General vested with such powers as to represent his person. They were dubbed before or after a battle in which the royal standard was displayed; and the person so to be honoured being brought before the King, led by two distinguished knights or nobles, presented to the Sovereign his pennon, having an indenture like a swallow's tail at the extremity. The King then cut off the forked extremity, rendering the banner square, in shape similar to that of a Baron, which thereafter the Knight Banneret might display on every pitched field in that more noble form."

A Knight Banneret† had the privilege of heading his own vassals in battle, whereas a Knight Bachelor was commanded by a superior.

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* Holinshed, who quotes from Patten.

† This ancient and proud distinction was conferred only for conspicuous valour, and only on knights who had sufficient lands to support the dignity, and consequently the Knight Bannerets on record are few and far between.

According to Shakespeare, Sir Robert Faulconbridge was—

> "A soldier by the honour-giving hand
> Of Cœur-de-Lion knighted in the field."

Froissart gives a glowing account of Sir John Chandos' appointment to Knight Banneret by the Black Prince on the battle-field of Nazara.

Sir Ralph Sadleir survived his two brother Bannerets, "and was," says Fuller, "the last in England of that order;" an error unfortunately repeated by Sir Walter Scott, when writing nearly two centuries after Fuller: for Charles I. created a Knight Banneret on the battle-field of Edgehill, and George II. made one at Dettingen.

"General Sir Wm. Erskine, on his return from the continent, in 1761, was made a Knight Banneret by George III. in Hyde Park, in consequence of his distinguished conduct at the battle of Emsdorf. But although he was invested between the standards of the 15th Light Dragoons, his rank was not acknowledged, as the ceremony did not take place on the field of battle."—*Meyrick's "Antient Armour."*

The victorious army, minus the garrison at Haddington, re-crossed the Tweed on Michaelmas Day. "The Duke of Somerset rode straight to Newcastle, and thence homewards. The Earl of Warwick, my Lord Grey, and Sir Ralph Sadleir, with divers others, rode to Berwick, to abide the coming of the Scotch Commissioners, and tarried there the full term of the appointment, which was until the 4th of October, and perceiving they came not, departed home next day."*

I have stated that the victory of Pinkie was politically a mistake, and the statement is soon proved :—"Such slaughter had never before been seen." Every glen and valley to which the fiery cross had penetrated now echoed the wailings of sorrow; every family within forty miles radius of Edinburgh deplored some kinsman's death; and in every habitation—castle as well as cabin—the English name could not be mentioned without revengeful maledictions. No one dare even whisper of any alliance with hated England. The moment the English army had re-crossed the Border, and the coast was clear, the Scotch, instead of sending their Commissioners to Berwick to arrange the conditions of peace, as they had promised, sent them to Paris to offer their young Queen in marriage to the Dauphin, and the consequence was that in the following summer (1548) the little Sovereign, then in her sixth year, was conveyed to France, to be brought up at the Court of her future father-in-law, Henry II.; and thus all the treasure, valour, and diplomacy the English had spent in wooing her were completely thrown away, and the union with Scotland was delayed half a century; though there were, no doubt, a few far-seeing Scotchmen who believed in Somerset's prophetic declaration, made at the time, that "the Scots and English, being made one by amity, having the sea for a wall, mutual love for a garrison, and God for a defence, should make so noble and well agreeing a monarchy that neither in peace need they be ashamed, nor in war afraid of any worldly power."†

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* Patten. Sir Ralph Sadleir rendered his account as High Treasurer on the 20th of the December following. It was audited by Lord St. John, Sir Thomas Mayle, and Sir Walter Mildmay, who were appointed for the purpose by royal letters patent.

An abstract of the account is given from the original in Sadler State Papers. Vol. I., p. 355, "being," Sir Walter Scott justly observes, "a matter of interest and historical curiosity." From this abstract it appears that the expedition cost £14,912 8s. for the maintenance and pay, including travelling expenses homewards, from the 1st August to the 20th of November. Up to the frontiers of Scotland the troops received a fixed allowance for maintenance and travelling expenses, varying from 7d. a mile for a lord down to ½d. a mile for a foot soldier. The army took provisions with them estimated for 28 days into Scotland.

† Letter of the Duke of Somerset, and others of the Council, to the Scotch. (Holinshed.) This well expresses Sir Ralph Sadleir's prevailing sentiment, and was perhaps actually written by him.

CHAPTER XIV.

FALL OF THE DUKE OF SOMERSET. DEATH OF EDWARD VI.

(1548–53.)

Though the battle of Pinkie was destined to be barren of political fruit, Somerset was received in London as a conquering hero. The King rewarded him with additional church property, and his popularity amongst the citizens brimmed over.

The Council and Parliament went with the tide, and the Protector found no difficulty in repealing the "Six Articles Act" and the penal laws against "heretics." Popular preachers were sent throughout the country to disseminate Protestant doctrines, and dilate upon the superstitions of the Church of Rome.

Gardiner had, in the meantime, been imprisoned by Cranmer for resisting Protestantism, and freed again by the Council; but nevertheless he opposed the preachers to the best of his power, which was considerable, and threw many obstacles in their way.

Being summoned to London from Winchester, and having given only an evasive explanation of his "lewd proceedings," he was directed to preach before the Court, and state his views on the royal supremacy, the suppression of religious houses, auricular confession, processions, palms, candles, &c., and on the merits of the Book of Common Prayer, and, in short, all the recent changes in the service of the Church.* In spite of the elasticity which he allowed to his conscience when preaching, "my Lord of Winchester handled himself so colourably, it was determined by the King and Council that he should be committed to the Tower, and be conveyed thither by Sir Anthony Wingfield, and that at the time of his committing, Sir Ralph Sadleir and William Hunnings, Clerk of the Council, should seal up the doors of such places in his house as they should think meet."†

Accordingly, on the day after the sermon (30th June), as Gardiner was sitting quietly in his study in his house at Southwark, inwardly congratulating himself, perhaps, on his dexterous discourse, there appeared, as he informs us, "the Right Worshipful Sir Anthony Wingfield and Sir Ralph Sadleir, Knights, accompanied with a great

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* These supplied instructions were conveyed to the Bishop by Somerset's Secretary, William Cecil, afterwards Queen Elizabeth's celebrated Minister, Lord Burleigh.

† Corbett's "State Trials," Vol. I., p. 554.

number of the Guard, and used themselves for their parts according to their worships, and (I doubt not) as they were appointed, and Sir Ralph Sadleir* began thus with me:—'My lord,' said he, 'ye preached yesterday obedience, but ye did not obey yourself,' and went forth with his message very soberly, as he can, and discreetly.† I asked him wherein I obeyed not. He said touching my Lord of Somerset's letter. 'Master Sadleir,' quoth I, 'I pray you say unto my lord's grace, I would he never made mention of that letter, for the love I bear him. And yet,' quoth I, 'I have not broken that letter, and I was minded to have written to my lord upon the receipt of it, and lo!' quoth I, 'ye may see how I began,' and shewed him (because we were then in my study) the beginning of my letter, and reasoned with him for the declaration of myself, and told him therewith 'I will not spend many words with you, for I cannot alter this determination; and yet in good faith,' quoth I, 'my manner to you and this declaration may have this effect, that I be gently handled in the prison, and for that purpose I pray you make suit in my behalf.' Master Wingfield laid his hand upon my shoulder, and arrested me in the King's name for disobedience. I asked him, whither I should? They said, to the Tower. Finally, I desired them that I might be spoken with shortly, and heard what I could say for myself, and prayed them to be suiters in it, and so they said they would."‡

Gardiner was the greatest and ablest opponent of the Reformation. He was now immured in the Tower, and the fact damped the ardour and opposition of the less influential men who held the same theological opinions. Somerset was not slow in grasping the opportunity. In the succeeding session of Parliament (January, 1549) the celebrated Act of Uniformity was passed, by which the Book of Common Prayer was ordered to be adopted in every church of England, and the old familiar Latin services, dear to the people from childhood, were forbidden, under penalties, to be used any more in public worship. The Book of Common Prayer, embracing as it does the most earnest prayers of the primitive Christians, is the purest and grandest devotional compilation in the English language.§ It would have stood on its own merits, and gradually won its way into men's hearts, but it

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* Wingfield's name is mentioned frequently in connection with the trial of Gardiner and Bonner, but this is the only occasion on which Sadleir's name appears recorded. Sir Ralph was a tolerant man, and did not approve of religious persecution, but probably the Protector and Council well knew he was to be trusted in any proceedings against the man who had been so instrumental in the fall of his friend Cromwell.

† Gardiner and Sadleir had been members of the Privy Council together for several years, and were well acquainted with each other's character.

‡ Bishop of Winchester's statement. ("State Trials," Vol. I., p. 612.)

§ In compiling the Prayer Book, Cranmer availed himself of the assistance of Calvin, Peter Martyr, Bernard Ochin, Melancthon, &c., &c.

was not to be thrust down their throats by an Act of Parliament; and, as a matter of fact, its introduction actually caused an insurrection in several parts of the Kingdom; but in the meantime treason of quite a different sort reared its head at the Protector's very side.

Sir Thomas Seymour was, at the King's death, one of the Council of twelve. He came in for a large share of his brother's good fortune, and became Lord Seymour of Sudleye, with a corresponding grant of land, and was appointed Lord High Admiral of England. Quite as ambitious as Somerset, he too aimed at supreme power, but by very opposite means; for whereas the Duke of Somerset, influenced by noble aspirations, rested on his fame as a great General and statesman, Lord Seymour of Sudleye, counting on his good looks, determined to rise by a politic marriage.

Having failed to win the rich and handsome Duchess of Richmond, he was a bachelor at Henry's death, and lost no time in preferring his suit to the royal widow, who had, like many another woman about the court, carried on a flirtation with him before her marriage with the King. Seymour had not much difficulty in persuading Queen Catherine to marry, and that, too, within a couple of months of the King's death, and without the consent of the Council. The Princess Elizabeth—a maiden budding into womanhood—still resided in her stepmother's house, and the Lord High Admiral took advantage of his position there to romp with her to an unwarrantable extent. Queen Catherine by-and-by died in childbed, and Seymour, again free, commenced a regular clandestine courtship with the Princess, who had been removed to Hatfield.* As time went on, he attempted to obtain possession of the young King's person. As Lord Admiral he encouraged pirates rather than otherwise, to the intent they might aid him if required. By foul means he amassed a considerable sum of money, so as to be able to command the services of ten thousand men to execute his traitorous purposes; he established private cannon foundries: these and several other things he did, "to the danger of the King's Majesty's person, and the great peril of the state of the realm."† At length he was sent to the Tower, in January, 1549. Parliament attainted him of high treason, and condemned him to death. "On the 10th of March the Council resolved to press the King that justice might be done on the Admiral, and since the case was so heavy and lamentable to the

* Seymour sounded the young King on the subject, and endeavoured to prevail on him to favour his marriage with Elizabeth; but Edward, who was shrewd for his age, and had some of his father's humour, reminded his uncle of Anne of Cleves, who was still enjoying in single blessedness the lands and income Henry had settled on her. Her personal attractions, however, were not sufficiently numerous for the Lord Admiral, and marriage with her would not have brought him nearer to the throne.

† Instead of taking command of the fleet for the Pinkie campaign, he left it in Clinton's hands and stayed at home to plot.

Protector* (so it is in the Council Book), though it was also sorrowful to them all, they resolved to proceed in it, so that neither the King nor he should be further troubled with it." Edward gave an unwilling assent, and on "the 17th of March the Lord Chancellor and the rest of the King's Council, meeting in his Highness's palace of Westminster, condescended and agreed that the said Lord Admiral should be executed the Wednesday next following, betwixt the hours of nine and twelve in the forenoon, upon Tower Hill; his body and head to be buried within the Tower." So ran the warrant for his execution, which was signed by fourteen of the Council, including the Protector, the Archbishop of Canterbury, the Lord Chancellor (Rich), the Earls of Warwick and Southampton (Wriothesley),† Sir William Paget, and Sir Ralph Sadleir.

Lord Seymour met his death with fortitude, while not a few blamed the Duke of Somerset for not exerting his all-powerful influence to save his brother's life. But a greater trouble was already looming before the Protector.

The Book of Common Prayer being adopted and the Latin service suppressed according to law on the 1st of the following May, an insurrection began in Cornwall, and spread Londonwards to an alarming extent. The insurgents demanded back "the laws of King Henry VIII. concerning the Six Articles, and the Latin mass, holy bread and holy water, palms and ashes at the time accustomed, images in churches, and all other ancient ceremonies of the Holy Mother Church," and refused "to receive the new service, because it was but like a Christmas game."

Lord Russell was despatched with a force against the rebels in the west. In Oxford, too, the new *régime* met with considerable opposition, and Lord Grey hanged scores of non-conforming parsons from their church towers. France and Scotland availed themselves of England's difficulty. Boulogne and Haddington were besieged, the Borders became troublesome, and in the midst of all the commotion another insurrection broke out nearer home—20,000 rebels assembling under one Ket, near Norwich; their particular grievance being that the nobility and gentry, tempted by the high price of wool, had enclosed lands, hitherto commons, as sheep farms, and abandoned agriculture, from which the labouring classes had mainly derived their living.‡ There was considerable show of reason in the discontent of the Norfolk

* It is a question whether Lord Seymour's fate was really heavy and lamentable to his elder brother. The story goes that the Duchess of Somerset—a vindictive and narrow-minded woman—was jealous of her sister-in-law's precedence as Ex-Queen, and bred a bitter quarrel between the two brothers, which eventually brought both to the block.

† Wriothesley had been re-admitted to the Council, and remained a member of it until he died in 1551.

‡ The watchword of the insurgents was "Kill the gentlemen!"

rebels. Somerset had foreseen the hardship which the enclosing of lands would throw on the lower order, and endeavoured to prevent it by parliamentary means, but failed. He was known to sympathise with the people, and his countenance giving courage to the insurgents, they pulled down all the park palings in their neighbourhood, and driving the deer, sheep, and cattle into the camp, lived on the fat of the land,* while they armed themselves with guns, pistols, swords, pikes, and bows coolly taken from the gentlemen's houses, and appropriated all the cannon in Norwich. Ket was a born General, and maintained excellent order amongst his motley crew. But were such a state of affairs tolerated, the whole realm would soon be in a state of lawlessness. A proclamation by Somerset having failed to disperse the rebels, the Council took the matter in hand, and determined to send an armed force against them. The majority of the regular troops were with Russell and Herbert in the south-west, and the remainder—principally German mercenaries—had marched under Warwick towards the Scottish frontier. Raw levies from London could not be relied on. Some knights and noblemen, therefore, patriotically armed and equipped their vassals, and thus formed a compact force of 1500 horse. The Marquis of Northampton (Parr), at the head of this force, proceeded to Norwich. "There went with the Lord Marquis divers honourable and worshipful personages—as the Lord Sheffield, the Lord Wentworth, Sir Anthony Denny, Sir Ralph Sadleir, Sir Richard Leigh, together with a great many other knights, esquires, and gentlemen." †

Early in August, Northampton and his chosen band entered Norwich, the gates being freely opened to them by the inhabitants. During the night the rebels attacked the town, and though failing to effect an entrance, showed so much strength and bravery that Northampton considered it advisable to come to terms with them, and sent a herald into their camp offering a general pardon if they would lay down their arms and disperse; but instead of dispersing, Ket stormed the walls again next day. The defendants made a gallant resistance. A hundred and forty assailants fell dead on the ramparts; but, confident in their overwhelming power, the rebels pressed on, and at last forced their way into the town. Lord Sheffield was among the killed, and Sir Thomas Cornwallis among the prisoners. Sir Ralph Sadleir was fortunately one of those who, with Northampton and the remainder of the loyal forces, made their escape from the town, with the purpose of joining the Earl of Warwick, who was forthwith summoned from the north to their assistance.

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* "[illegible] twenty thousand [illegible], capons, ducks, and other fowls."—*Holinshed.*

† *Holinshed.*

Lord Warwick was an energetic soldier. He at once retraced his steps, and arriving at Cambridge with his cavalry, he joined Northampton's party, having sent orders to his German infantry to follow him as quickly as possible. On the 23rd of the month he appeared before the town, which was still in the hands of the insurgents, and summoned them to surrender, with the promise of a free pardon; but they only ridiculed the herald who made the proclamation, saying, "he was not the King's herald, but some one made out by the gentlemen, in such a gay coat, patched together of vestments and church stuff to deceive them."*

Warwick thereupon blew open the gates with his artillery and entered the town, the rebels retreating to their old camp. The victory, however, was not all on the Royalists' side; for the enemy seized on several guns and a great quantity of ammunition, which were outside the walls—an acquisition which made them much more formidable than before; in fact, the royal force was in a precarious position, for ammunition was all the rebels wanted to render their superior numbers efficient. Some counselled a second retreat, but Warwick resolved to hold his ground till his reinforcements came up, declaring that he preferred death to dishonour. Then "he and the other honourable and worshipful who were present with him,† kissed each other's swords, according to an ancient custom used amongst men of war in time of great danger, and herewith they made a solemn vow, binding it with a solemn oath, that they should not depart thence till they had either vanquished the enemy or lost their lives in manfull fight for the defence of the King's honour."‡

But the enemy let the opportunity slip through their fingers, and next day the German Lanzneehts, 1400 strong, reinforced the garrison.

There were prophets amongst the other impostors in Ket's camp, and relying on this oracular verse by one of them—

> "The country gruffs, Hob, Dick, and Hick,
> With clubs and clouted shoon,
> Shall fill up Dussendale with blood
> Of slaughtered bodies soon,"

the rebels, on the 27th of August, descended from their vantage ground on the hill, and offered battle to Warwick in the valley. They were attacked and defeated with great slaughter, and Dussendale *was* filled with blood, but the blood was the rebels' own. Robert Ket, their "Captain," and his brother William rode for their lives, but they were overtaken and eventually hanged.

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* Holinshed.

† Sir Ralph Sadleir was, no doubt, one of the number.

‡ Holinshed.

The main rebellion being thus completely crushed, Warwick returned to London the hero of the hour, and rose in public favour, while Somerset, whose maladministration was blamed for all the mischief at home and abroad, descended in the scale. Nor was it the least cause of complaint against the Protector that while the affairs of State gradually ebbed towards ruin, his private fortunes increased enormously.*

When he was appointed Protector, "he faithfully promised and swore in open Council to do nothing touching the state of affairs without the advice of the rest of the Council, or the majority of them; and yet, nevertheless, he had been never so little in that room but he began to do things of most weight and importance by himself, without calling any of the Council thereunto; and if for manners' sake he called any man, all was one, for he would order the matter as he pleased himself, refusing to hear any man's reason but his own, and in a short time became so haught and arrogant that he sticked not in open Council to taunt such as frankly spake their opinions so far beyond the limits of reason as not to be declared. The success of his government hath been such as there was no true-hearted Englishman that lamenteth not in his heart that ever he bare rule in the realm."†

Under these circumstances it was no wonder that the majority of the Council should take the first favourable opportunity of deposing Somerset from power. It had now presented itself, and within a few weeks after Warwick's triumphant return to London, some of the Council who were opposed to Somerset met privately together to further the end they had in view. They were Warwick, St. John, Southampton, Sir Edward North, Rich (Lord Chancellor), Lord Arundel, Sir Richard Southwell, Sir Edward Peckham, and the two Wottons. Somerset was at Hampton Court, with the King, and Cranmer, Paget, Cecil, Petre, Sir Thomas Smith, and Sir John Thynne.

London and Hampton Court are not far apart, and the designs against him were soon whispered into Somerset's ear. Ever impulsive, he rushed at the conclusion that his life was in immediate danger. He at once put Hampton Court in a state of defence, issued inflammatory handbills calling on the peasantry to take up arms, and repair with harness and weapons to Hampton Court, to defend the Crown and the Protector—the people's friend; whilst he despatched couriers to Lord Russell and Sir William Herbert, who were still in the west with the army, to march forthwith to his assistance.

This brought matters to a crisis with "the lords in London." Lords Shrewsbury, Sussex, and Wentworth, Sir Ralph Sadleir, Sir William Petre, and Judge Montague joined them, and they issued a

* Where Somerset House now stands, he pulled down churches and other public buildings to supply a site for the more than royal mansion he was erecting for himself.

† Memorandum which the Council laid before the Emperor.

counter proclamation* containing their version of the case. Intelligence, too, soon reached them that Russell and Herbert meant to take their part against the Protector.

Somerset, finding himself thus deserted, surrendered to the Council, who committed him to the Tower, together with Smith, Stanhope, Thynne, and Wolf—"the principal instruments whom he did use in his ill-government."

This occurred in October (1549), and in the following January Somerset pleaded guilty to all the charges against him—twenty-nine in number. He was then deposed by Act of Parliament from the Protectorate, and deprived of estates worth £2000 a year which he had appropriated. His "instruments" also had to refund the public money they had severally embezzled.

The Earl of Warwick, though not appointed Protector, now became *par excellence* the leading man in the nation, and he fortified his position by obtaining promotion for his followers. Lord Russell was made Earl of Bedford, Lord St. John Earl of Wiltshire, and Sir William Paget was created Lord Paget of Beaudesert. Paget, it was true, had taken Somerset's part, but it was clearly proved that he had repeatedly warned and cautioned the Protector against the course he was pursuing. Paget was, moreover, one of the ablest men in the Council, and his services were now pressingly required by the new administration. English affairs in France seemed beyond cure. The French pressed the siege of Boulogne, and the English lacked "the sinews of war" necessary for a persistent defence.† Paget was skilled in French diplomacy, and in February he and Bedford were sent to France to treat for peace. The French ambassadors knew the difficulties of the English, and assumed an attitude they would not have dared to assume in Henry VIII.'s time. "Their orgueil," wrote Paget to Warwick, "is intolerable, their disputations be unreasonable, their conditions to us dishonourable, and, which is worst of all, our estate at home is miserable. What then! Of many evils let us choose the least." This meant peace at any price. Accordingly, on the 24th of March, a treaty was concluded by which, for the inadequate sum of 400,000 crowns, Boulogne, with all its ordnance, stores, and fortifications, was given up to the French; the few forts on Scottish ground still held by the English were abandoned by their garrisons, and peace was permanently ratified with France and Scotland.‡

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* The proclamation was signed by Sir Ralph Sadleir and the other members of the Council in London.

† The pay of the German troops in Calais and Boulogne amounted to £6,000 a week. The provisions at Boulogne were all but exhausted.

‡ The terms were indeed dishonourable to England, as Paget said, and he and all her true statesmen took the national degradation to heart. Many years afterwards, when speaking

The fall of Somerset raised the drooping spirits of the Papists, but only delusively. The young King was an earnest Reformer, and there was a compact body in the Council of the same views. Warwick's religion was his own aggrandisement; he humoured the King, and Protestantism flourished, if anything, more than before. Gardiner and Bonner, in spite of piteous appeals to the Council, were replaced in their Bishopries by Ponet and Ridley, and left in prison until Mary's accession. Heath, Bishop of Worcester, was also put into durance vile.

Meantime, Somerset recovered part of his former position. He was re-admitted to the Council, and became so far reconciled to Warwick, that his daughter, Lady Anne, married Warwick's son, Lord Ambrose Dudley* (Richmond, June, 1550).

But Somerset did not remain satisfied with only a second-rate position; his old ambition resumed its sway over his mind. He endeavoured to form a party in the House of Lords to have him re-instated to the Protectorate. He also planned a marriage between his daughter and the King, and even hinted at the assassination of Warwick and the other lords who were opposed to him. His hopes came to sudden ruin. In October, 1551, he had the mortification of seeing his opponents honoured—Warwick being created Duke of Northumberland, Dorset (Grey), Duke of Suffolk, Wiltshire (Paulet, late Lord St. John), Marquis of Winchester, and Sir William Herbert, Earl of Pembroke—whilst he himself was committed to the Tower on a charge of treason.

The charges against the Duke of Somerset were really less serious now than on the former occasion, but the circumstances were changed. Nothing fails like failure, and though still a favourite with the London mob, His Grace had lost influence with the nobility, and Warwick—or rather Northumberland, as he now was—possessed the King's ear, and deafened it to any appeal from Somerset.

Somerset was tried by the peers, and though acquitted of treason, was found guilty of felony and condemned to death, which he suffered accordingly on the 22nd of February (1552), to the sorrow of a great number of the people.†

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in Parliament, Sir Ralph Sadleir referred to the humiliating surrender of Boulogne, which "that noble prince of famous memory, Henry VIII." had captured so gloriously, and he must have noted with still greater regret the triumph of the French faction in Scotland, and that her union with England appeared further off than ever.

* At the same time and place, Lord Robert Dudley (afterwards the well-known Earl of Leicester), married the ill-fated Amy Robsart.

† An incident occurred just about this time which is worth recording, as shewing a change in the times, and one in which Sir Ralph Sadleir must have taken a peculiar interest. I refer to the appearance of Mary of Lorraine at the English Court. She had been visiting her daughter and relatives in France, and now, as part of the fruits of the recent treaty, was returning through England under safe conduct to Scotland, of which she had been appointed Regent in place of Arran.

Somerset's death left Northumberland the undoubted master of the situation, and he took the utmost advantage of it for the benefit of himself and his family. In the spring of the following year (1553), the King shewed alarming signs of illness, and speculating on his death, Northumberland caused a marriage to be consummated between his only unmarried son, Lord Guildford Dudley, who was only seventeen years of age, and Lady Jane Grey, eldest daughter of the Duke of Suffolk, and granddaughter of Charles Brandon and the princess Mary, Henry VIII.'s sister. She was only fifteen years old, but her royal granduncle's will had made her the heir to the throne, in succession to Edward, Mary, and Elizabeth.*

Now, Edward was dying, the princesses Mary and Elizabeth had formally been pronounced illegitimate by Acts of Parliament, and the idea seized the ambitious and unscrupulous Northumberland to set them aside in the succession, and thus leave his daughter-in-law, Lady Jane Grey, the very next heir to the crown. Accordingly, he used all the great influence at his command to bring this about. He importuned the zealous young monarch on his dying bed, telling him he had power to will away the crown, and for the sake of the true religion he ought to nominate his pious and Protestant cousin, Lady Jane Grey, as heir, to the exclusion of his sisters—one of whom was a Papist, and the other only a lukewarm Reformer. Having thus worked upon Edward's religious feelings, and gained his point so far, Northumberland summoned all the nobles, Privy Councillors, Officers of the Royal Household, judges, and other officials to Greenwich, on the 21st of June (1553), informed them of the King's will, and by frowns and smiles persuaded them to sign a formal document fixing the succession on Lady Jane.

It was not without great reluctance that Cranmer and others attached their signatures to a deed which disinherited King Henry's daughters, and set aside the will which Parliament had empowered him to make. Some signed it as witnesses, others signed it with the full determination of nullifying it on the first opportunity; and thus the names were appended of over a hundred of the leading men of the Government and Court, and amongst the rest appeared the signature of Sir Ralph Sadleir.

The King was now in the last stage of consumption, and despaired of by the Physicians. An old woman, however, pretended she possessed a nostrum which would cure him, and he was delivered over to her tender mercies; but, if anything, his death was only accelerated, and certainly his pain was intensified by the quack medicine. Eruptions broke out all over his body, his finger and toe-nails dropped off, as well

* Henry VIII. passed over the issue of his eldest sister Margaret, now represented by Mary, Queen of Scots, and Margaret Douglas, Countess of Lennox.

as his hair, and he died at Greenwich, on Thursday evening, the 6th of July (1553), in the seventh year of his reign and seventeenth of his age. The curious manner in which he died suggested poison, and served to render Northumberland still more unpopular in the public mind.

When we recollect how earnestly the nation had longed for a male heir to the throne, the rejoicings that took place at Edward's birth, and the brilliant hopes his promising youth gave rise to, we can understand the sorrow and disappointment which his premature death occasioned throughout the country.

CHAPTER XV.

QUEEN MARY'S REIGN OF PERSECUTION.

(1553–58.)

Northumberland contrived to keep Edward's death secret from the public for some days, and meantime endeavoured to secure the Princess Mary's person; but the news, with its important bearings, reached her by a private messenger, and she fled from Hunsdon in Hertfordshire to Framlingham in Suffolk, and evaded her pursuers. Framlingham Castle was a stronghold near the coast, whence Mary could, if necessary, escape to Belgium, and seek the protection of her kinsman, the Emperor Charles V. She had, moreover, many adherents in the eastern counties. Northumberland proclaimed Lady Jane Grey as Queen in London, but the proclamation was coldly received by the citizens. In fact, the English love of fair play enlisted the sympathies of the people in favour of the daughter of their old King, and justly led them to consider her the rightful heir to the crown.

Many flocked round Mary's standard, and she showed at the crisis all the determined spirit of her Tudor blood. While on her way to Framlingham she addressed (9th July) a forcible letter to the Council, accusing them of concealing her brother's death, and boldly asserting her own right to the vacant crown.

To this the Council sent a reply declaring that she was illegitimate, and that Lady Jane Grey was the true heir. The letter was signed by the Archbishop of Canterbury, Cranmer, Winchester, Bedford, Northumberland, Suffolk, Shrewsbury, Pembroke, and sixteen others, including Petre and Cecil, but Sadleir was not amongst the number. It is true Sir Ralph signed with a hundred others Northumberland's "device;" but "loyalty to his Prince" ever guided his conduct, and though he disapproved of Mary's bigoted views, it is probable that respect for Henry's race and will prevented his taking active measures against her succession.

Northumberland, leaving the Duke of Suffolk (Lady Jane's father) in charge of the Tower, started from London on the 15th at the head of a force, for the purpose of routing Mary's party. The people were ominously silent as he rode through the streets, and no one, as he himself remarked, cried "God bless you!" as usual on such occasions. His back was hardly turned on the capital when the majority of the

Council there declared themselves for the Princess Mary, whereupon a general movement in her favour took place. Northumberland, arrested at Cambridge, was sent to the Tower, in which were also lodged as prisoners the blameless Lady Jane Grey—after a fortnight's reign—her husband, Lord Guildford Dudley, her father, the Duke of Suffolk, the Marquis of Northampton, Ridley, and other prominent advocates of the "device;" and on the 3rd of August Mary entered London as Queen, to the great joy of the inhabitants—not the least pleasing part of the spectacle being the fact that the Princess Elizabeth accompanied the Queen in her triumphal entry, and that King Harry's two daughters rode side by side, in a natural and affectionate manner, like sisters recognising and supporting each other's position.

Mary's first act was to release from imprisonment the old Duke of Norfolk, who had been lying in the Tower since before Henry's death,* also her cousin, Edward Courtenay, son of the Marquis of Exeter, of the Plantagenet race. Gardiner, Bonner, Heath, and Tunstall were also set free, and reinstalled in their old dioceses, from which the Protestant bishops were ejected. Norfolk was restored to the Council, and Gardiner appointed Lord Chancellor (a priest had not held the Great Seal since Wolsey's fall); and it soon became evident that Mary had determined to bring back the state of things which existed in what seemed to her the good old times, when her sainted mother was the honoured Queen of the realm, and His Holiness the Pope the supreme head of the Church.

By appointing Papists to the high offices in the State, Mary soon had a majority in the Council of her own religion, while many of those professing the reformed views quietly conformed to the new change, and the Government had no difficulty in re-establishing the old religious forms. When, however, the Queen hinted at the restoration of the Church lands, the Catholic as well as the Protestant members, both of the Council and of the Parliament, clapt their hands on their swords and looked death and daggers. Indeed, there were few noblemen or gentlemen in England at the time who had not, either through a direct grant or an advantageous purchase, reaped the benefit of the appropriation by the Crown of the property of the Church; and though the majority were satisfied, if not pleased, to re-establish the mass, images, processions, holy palms, candles, and the like, there is no instance on record of anyone restoring a single acre to the ousted monks. The Queen, however, handed back to the Church all the property still remaining at the disposal of the Crown.

Of the original members of the Council, many retained their seats, but Sir Ralph Sadleir was one of those who resigned. "A courtier,"

* Both Somerset and Northumberland considered that Norfolk would, if free, oppose their ambitious schemes.

as Sir Walter Scott remarks, "who had risen under the auspices of Cromwell, and participated in the spoils of the Church of Rome, must have been no favourite with the existing Government." It is probable that he was deprived of his office of Master of the Grand Wardrobe, though Gardiner, the Lord Chancellor, appears to have permitted him to retain the Clerkship of the Hanaper; but Sir Ralph withdrew voluntarily from a Court and Council so opposed to his own views and sentiments, and retired out of harm's way* to his splendid country seat at Standon, where he could enjoy hawking and the other country sports in which he took delight.†

As he remained out of office during Mary's reign, it will not be necessary for me to give more than a brief outline of the main historical features of that unhappy lustrum:—

No time was lost in bringing Northumberland and his accomplices to trial. A fortnight after Mary's entry into London, the Duke was tried and sentenced to death, and a few days afterwards (August 22nd) he was beheaded on Tower Hill.

Mary had not been many months on the throne when the question of her marriage attracted public attention. Her subjects wished her to marry her cousin, the Earl of Devon; but she ignored their wishes, and with the Spanish proclivities which influenced her whole life, she accepted Philip, the eldest son of Charles V., and heir to the kingdom of Spain and its vast dependencies.‡

Philip was only twenty-seven years old, whilst Mary was thirty-eight. It was on his part merely a political union; but Mary had a high and holy sense of marriage, and moreover loved her callous *fiancé* with all the blind affection of an old maid who had never before experienced the heart throbbings of the tender passion.

Mary's first Parliament sat during the winter 1553–4. Most of its members were, as usual, nominees of the Crown, and the Queen and Council passed whatever bills they pleased. Among others, the old acts against heretics, which had been repealed in Edward's time, were renewed, and the ecclesiastical courts had once more the power of burning anyone they judged guilty of heresy;§ and the Protestant party beheld with dismay Cranmer, Ridley, Latimer, and several others

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* Sir Walter Mildmay was another official who also retired in Mary's reign, in accordance with the proverb, then so apposite, "*Bene vixit qui bene latuit.*"

† Sir Walter Scott, copying a mistake made by Fuller, says Sir Ralph retired to Hackney; but it is evident from the direction of Queen Mary's letters to him that he went to Standon. Hackney, as everyone knows, is within half-an-hour's ride of the Tower, and would be no "retirement" out of the way.

‡ The Netherlands, Naples, Milan, Mexico, and Peru.

§ There were two or three heretics burnt in Edward's reign, but the punishment was awarded by the common law courts, after an open trial.

of their leading men lodged in prison, as a preliminary step to trial by bigoted Papists for the deadly crime of "heresy."

The act legalising the Spanish marriage was still more unpopular. John Bull, in his island home, could not bear the idea of a foreign king, and the generality of Englishmen of all religious creeds regarded with aversion the intended match. Even Gardiner, the Lord Chancellor, was much opposed to it, and, taking the popular side of the question, wished the Queen to marry Lord Devon; but Paget warmly supported Mary in Council and carried the point. Gardiner, however, took care to stipulate in the marriage treaty that Philip should have no royal title to England, nor right of succession to the Crown in case of Mary's death, nor legal power to appoint anyone as a State official.

The marriage of Philip and Mary—that is, the union of Spain and England—was naturally disliked by their common enemy, France, and Noailles, the French ambassador in London, did all in his power to fan the flame of popular discontent. Rebellion was determined on. The Duke of Suffolk—who had recently escaped the axe—raised the standard of revolt in the Midland Counties, in would-be concert with Sir Peter Carew in Devonshire, and Sir Thomas Wyatt in Kent; but neither Suffolk nor Carew received the support they expected from their local influence, and the former was taken prisoner and again conveyed to the Tower, while Carew had to fly the country and take refuge in France. Sir Thomas Wyatt—an enthusiastic young man, only twenty-three years of age, son of Sir Thomas Wyatt, the poet, the faithful friend of Surrey, and the welcome admirer of Anne Boleyn—made a more successful beginning in his native county.

Thousands having flocked around him at Maidstone, the last week of January (1554), he marched slowly towards London, receiving reinforcements by the way. Had he advanced rapidly, he would have found the Government unprepared to meet him, and might probably have succeeded in making Elizabeth Queen and himself an honoured patriot; but during his delays Mary and her party contrived to attach the wavering citizens altogether to their side, and when at last Wyatt reached London on the Surrey side, he found the bridges barred against him, and the city in arms. Many of his followers, awed by the resistance exhibited, deserted him, but he pressed on up the river bank, and crossed by Kingston Bridge on the 7th of February. He marched directly to the city, and manfully attacked a force under the Earl of Bedford drawn up across the main road near the place where the Berlington Arcade now stands. Fighting impetuously in advance of his straggling followers, he was taken prisoner and immured in the Tower.

Suffolk's new treason proved fatal to Lady Jane Grey and her husband, who were still in imprisonment; and Wyatt's intercepted letter of Noailles to his sovereign showed that Wyatt had taken up

arms in favour of Elizabeth and Courtenay, they were in consequence also sent to the Tower. Simon Renard, the subtle Spanish Ambassador, now exerted his powerful influence over the Queen to have all the State prisoners executed, believing that Prince Philip would find himself more secure on the English throne if the way thither were paved with the lifeless heads of all possible rivals. And Renard partly succeeded: Lady Jane Grey and Lord Guildford Dudley were beheaded before a week after Wyatt's capture, and her father-in-law, Suffolk, followed them in a few days.

Poor Lady Jane, innocent victim of the ambition of others, is entitled to the sympathy of every honest historian:—

> Seventeen—and knew eight languages—in music
> Peerless, her needle perfect, and her learning
> Beyond the churchmen; yet so meek, so modest,
> So wifelike—humble to the trivial boy
> Mismatched with her for policy! I have heard
> She would not take a last farewell of him:
> She feared it might unman him for his end.
> She could not be unmann'd—no, nor outwoman'd.
> Seventeen—a rose of grace!
> Girl never breathed to rival such;
> Rose never blew that equalled such a bud.*

Elizabeth and Courtenay would have met with a similar sad fate if Renard had his wish; but it could not be proved that either of them had encouraged the rebellion, and Wyatt, whose life was spared till April, not only refused to implicate them, but on his way to the scaffold actually declared their total innocence. Moreover, Lord William Howard,† who commanded the fleet, and also the people in general, shewed such a decided leaning towards Elizabeth that the Queen dared not to bring her sister to the block.

The insurrection had been put down with a merciless hand, as the scores of gibbets about London testified; but the country was far from terrified into loyalty. An uneasy spirit prevailed, and the Council anticipated fresh disturbances in the ensuing summer, when the assemblies on the village greens would discuss the odious Spanish marriage, and the long days and fine weather would invite camping out.

One of the only two letters on record which Sir Ralph Sadleir received from Queen Mary was written at this time, 9th May (1554). It informed him that Lord Clinton had been appointed Commander-in-Chief of all the forces within twenty-five miles of London, and directed Sir Ralph to put forthwith in readiness as many of his servants, tenants, and friends as he was able, to join Lord Clinton if required, as well as to repress any tumult in his own county.

Though the letter was directed to "our trusty and well-beloved Sir

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* Tennyson's "Queen Mary."

† Lord William Howard was one of the finest characters of the period.

Ralph Sadleir," I cannot agree with Sir Walter Scott in considering it a proof of Mary's confidence. Ordering a nobleman or gentleman to arm and equip a body of men was in those days a common and indirect mode of punishment, owing to the expense incurred, and in this case Sadleir was told "to fail not, as he would answer for the contrary."* Twelve months afterwards, when scores of Protestants were burning at the stake, and war with France seemed imminent, Sir Ralph received similar directions to arm his followers, so as to be "ready upon an hour's warning to be employed for repression of any sudden tumult within the realm, or for resisting of any foreign invasion." On the back of this last letter is written "Consyderable papers."

On the 19th of May (1554), Elizabeth was released from the Tower and sent to Woodstock Palace, where she lived for some time in a state of *espionage*. Courtenay was also released, but sent out of the country.

In July, Philip landed at Southampton, and married the Queen a few days after at Winchester.

In the following November, Cardinal Pole arrived at Court, after many years of exile from his native land.† His coming was a special gratification to Mary. He was her cousin, had warmly espoused her mother's cause, and opposed the divorce; and now he came as legate from His Holiness the Pope, bringing with him absolution to England for its recent apostasy. His appearance thrilled Mary's heart with pleasure, and, as she thought and said, "the babe leaped in her womb for joy"—a piece of intelligence which gladdened the Romanists beyond measure, for they now looked forward to a succession of monarchs of "the true faith;" but they and the Queen were doomed to disappointment. Though the appointed time was fulfilled, though the matter was announced in Parliament, though the priests sang litanies in the streets, though the nurses stood ready with cradle and long clothes, the baby never came, and the joy at Court gradually changed to sorrow when the doctors finally agreed that the Queen was not *enceinte* but suffering from the fatal disease of dropsy.

The disappointment, together with Philip's utter indifference towards her, served to sour Mary's temper and harden her heart. She gave her royal countenance and assent to that wholesale burning of Protestants, including Bishops and eminent divines, which has thrown such a hellish light on the history of her reign ever since. In 1555

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* Sadler State Papers. Vol. I., p. 368. Thanks to Thomas Cromwell, a good postal system for letters had been established, and the superscription in this instance, "Post of Ware, see this letter delivered," shows it was in good working order. Standon is about five miles from Ware.

† Cecil was sent to meet and escort Pole, but this and all his other time-serving attempts failed to win for him Mary's confidence.

the persecution commenced, and continued till her death, three years afterwards. Over three hundred righteous persons suffered death by fire in that interval, the most notable of whom were Ridley, Latimer, and Cranmer, who were burnt at Oxford. Cranmer, in the eyes of Church and State as then established, had offended most gravely, and he was adjudged worthy of the direst punishment. A quarter of a century previous, he originated the proposal for effecting Katharine's divorce, which he afterwards carried out, and since then he had constantly and uniformly opposed the Pope and Holy Mother Church, and used his influence in favour of "the accursed heresy." He was therefore degraded from his sacred office of Archbishop, cajoled under promise of life into the humiliation of disowning the faith he firmly believed in, and sentenced to the stake. The manly and Christian way he met his awful death,* re-asserting his religious belief, and first burning his right hand for signing his recantation, is too well known for repetition.

Historians have endeavoured to throw the obloquy of such savage cruelty from English to Spanish shoulders, but this is unjust. Philip's chaplain preached against the ungodly mode of making converts, and Renard, in his letters to the Emperor, deprecated the barbarous inhumanity. The blame seems to lie principally at the brutal Bonner's door. He was the mainspring of the ecclesiastical court; but Pole as legate, and Mary as Queen, are not free from censure, for they could have prevented the human sacrifices if they chose. Gardiner, too, took an active part in the persecution, though only for a time. Revenge and bigotry were the chief incentives. Gardiner and Bonner had both endured the disgrace and discomfort of a long imprisonment by the Protestant party in the preceding reign, and many Catholic priests were hanged from their own church towers for maintaining their faith. It was not unnatural, therefore, that when the Papists came into power they should have avenged themselves on their adversaries; but they overstepped the bounds of moderation to such an extent that to this very day the Protestants of England are afraid of entrusting their Roman Catholic fellow countrymen with supreme power.

Gardiner died in November, 1555,† and has received a bad character from Protestant writers, but I think his true history is yet to be written; for his long service and great ability entitle him to a foremost position among English statesmen of the sixteenth century, and had he not proved himself so intolerant in religion, his memory might still be honoured by all classes of his countrymen. He was succeeded in his office of Lord Chancellor by another priest, Dr. Nicholas Heath,‡ Archbishop of York—a man of much smaller administrative calibre.

* 21st March, 1556.

† That is, be it noted, before Cranmer was burnt.

‡ Heath had not been three months in office when he wrote (23rd Feb., 1556) to his

Philip had meantime left England, as his father, Charles V., weary to ill-health of wars and politics, had abdicated his kingdom in his favour.* He was only too glad of the excuse for departing from his uncaptivating wife, and though he promised to return in a fortnight, he stayed away for a year and a half, and then (February, 1557), only returned for a few weeks. In the meanwhile, the persecutions went on, discontent continued, and fresh insurrections broke out; Mary's health and temper grew worse and worse, and her Government became a total failure, socially, financially, and politically.

In January, 1558, the French took Calais, which had been in possession of the English for over two hundred years. It is just to say that the garrison made a gallant defence, and that the Queen was patriotic enough to feel its loss very keenly, and that Philip appeared anxious to recover it. In the following September Mary was attacked by a fever, then prevalent in London, which aggravated her constitutional disease to such an extent that death became only a matter of a few months, and the eyes of the nation turned gladly towards the Princess Elizabeth, who had for some time back resided at Hatfield, whither now courtiers secretly wended their steps to worship the rising sun.

Elizabeth fully realized the importance of her position. It is stated with every degree of likelihood that Cecil sometime previously had drawn out a regular line of conduct for her, in anticipation of the Queen's death; and it is probable that Sadleir, "whose hand, though unseen, was in every motion of the State,"† often went out hawking in the direction of Hatfield (which was only fifteen miles from Standon), and meeting Her Highness, engaged in the same pursuit (accidentally, of course!), surveyed together with her the political horizon, when apparently absorbed in watching the quarry. At all events, when Elizabeth came to the throne, Sadleir and Cecil were the first she admitted into secret conclave.

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* [illegible] Sir Ralph Sadleir, desiring him to relinquish the Clerkship of the [illegible] Queen's Kingdom. The letter is a good example of the bold-threatening, [illegible] manner combined. "Though" the Chancellor continues, "it [illegible] God hath laid burden upon you with friendship in seeking for friendship [illegible] nothing being a part of your living, yet considering both in [illegible] how long ago you were content to settle Hales to [illegible] with the [illegible] of our friendship [illegible] you, which I am to [illegible] any [illegible] the Chancellor's [illegible] Papers, Vol. I., p. 371.)

† [illegible] Sadleir's great talents and [illegible]

Queen Mary died on the 17th of November, 1558, in the forty-fourth year of her age. "No English Sovereign," says Froude, "ever ascended the throne with larger popularity than Mary Tudor. She had reigned little more than five years, and she descended into the grave amidst curses deeper than the acclamations which had welcomed her accession. In that brief time she had swathed her name in the horrid epithet which will cling to it for ever; and yet, from the passions which in general tempt sovereigns to crime she was entirely free. To the time of her accession she had lived a blameless, and in many respects a noble life, and few men or women have lived less capable of doing knowingly a wrong thing."*

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* Cardinal Pole survived his congenial cousin only a few hours; adding one more name to the long list of remarkable personages whom death had, in close proximity of time, removed from the political arena during Mary's reign—including Cranmer, Latimer, the Duke of Norfolk, the Earl of Bedford, Gardiner, Anne of Cleves, and Charles V.

CHAPTER XVI.

THE COMMENCEMENT OF QUEEN ELIZABETH'S REIGN.

(1558–9.)

Queen Mary died just before dawn on Thursday, 17th November (1558). The Parliament met as usual at 8 o'clock that morning, and at once determined to proclaim the "Lady Elizabeth" Queen of the realm. Mary's death awakened no sorrow in the public mind, whereas the accession of Elizabeth, King Henry's favourite daughter, excited the greatest enthusiasm, and all day long the clanging church bells expressed the joy of the London citizens. "Peers, courtiers, knights, and gentlemen hastened down to Hatfield to do homage, and congratulate Elizabeth. By Saturday night, the Privy Council, with every statesman of any side or party of name or note, had collected there. On Sunday, the 20th, Elizabeth gave her first reception in the Hall. The oaths of allegiance were sworn; the promises of faithful service, official and private, were duly offered and graciously accepted. The Queen said a few words: nothing definite, yet the words seemed to imply that she did not contemplate immediate or sweeping change. The Lords withdrew. Pembroke, Clinton, Lord William Howard, and Sir Ralph Sadleir remained in the Hall."*

Sir William Cecil, of course, also remained. For some time back he had been Elizabeth's confidential adviser, and it was he who on Thursday morning hurriedly wrote out the proclamation announcing her "the only right heir by blood and lawful succession," and while the heralds were proclaiming it in London, galloped to Hatfield with the welcome intelligence. Elizabeth now appointed him her Secretary, observing to him, as he took the oaths, her belief that he would "be faithful to the State, and would not be corrupted by any manner of gifts."† Her confidence was not misplaced; Cecil proved himself one of the most consummate statesmen England ever possessed.

On the next day (Monday, 21st of November), Sadleir issued a summons,‡ signed by the Council at Hatfield, to all the nobility and gentry in and around the capital to assemble with all their trains on

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* [illegible]

† [illegible] several of Queen Mary's ministers were in the city of [illegible]

‡ State Papers.

the 23rd, for the purpose of attending the Queen on her State entry into London. It must have been a grand procession, and Elizabeth's mind must have exulted gratefully at the contrast between her position now and the last time she travelled that road, when she was conveyed in an invalid's litter to stand her trial for high treason. The new Queen was twenty-five years of age, good looking, well educated,* accomplished, cautious, courageous; but flighty, vain, and fond of admiration—

> "Brave, wary, sane to the heart of her,
> A Tudor schooled by the shadow of death,
> A Boleyn, too, glancing across the Tudor,
> Not so well."†

The bishops—Mary's nominees—met the procession at Highgate, and all except one (the blood-thirsty Bonner‡) were allowed to kiss the Queen's hand.

Elizabeth was a Protestant at heart, but she very cautiously and wisely abstained from declaring her religious sentiments at first, and hardly appeared to favour one party more than another; in fact, she acted on Sir Ralph Sadleir's dictum that "moderation was the interest of a public State—that the Protestants should be kept in hope, and the Papists not cast into despair."§ No wiser advice could be given under the circumstances. The Papists were a powerful body in the State, and numerically stronger than the Protestants; were, therefore, Protestant fanaticism encouraged and Catholic spirit persecuted, an insurrection would certainly take place in favour of Mary Queen of Scots, who was next heir to the throne by right of birth, and a decided Papist.

Instead, therefore, of creating an entirely new Privy Council, Elizabeth retained thirteen of the old members and added eight new ones, and thus formed a cabinet composed of *loyal Catholics* and *moderate Protestants*.

Those retained on the Council included Paulet, Marquis of

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* By Roger Ascham—a great friend of Cecil's.

† Tennyson's "Queen Mary."

‡ Bonner refused to take the oath of supremacy, and was consequently deprived of his bishopric and imprisoned in the Marshalsea, where he died, 1569.

Elizabeth's first Parliament repealed the Act of Supremacy, with the proviso that anything to acknowledge the Queen as Head of the Church should not constitute high treason, and consequently not entail capital punishment. Several bishops having refused to take the oath, were deprived of their sees, and new men succeeded them who favoured the Reformation. Amongst the rest, our old friend Cuthbert Tunstall, who took the oath to save his life in Henry VIII.'s time, now refused to do so, and left his bishopric, Durham, to the regret of a great many, for he was an able statesman and a moderate churchman.

§ The Protestants Sir Ralph's conscience would have in the commencement of Queen Elizabeth's reign, kept in hope; the Papists, his prudence would not have cast into despair. —*Lloyd's "State Worthies."*

Winchester (Lord Treasurer)—now over eighty years old—Fitzalan, Earl of Arundel, who aspired to the Queen's hand, Herbert, Earl of Pembroke, Lord Clinton (Lord Admiral), and Lord William Howard—all old statesmen of Henry VIII.'s, and loyal to the new Queen. Parr, Marquis of Northampton, and Russell, Earl of Bedford, were amongst those added. Sadleir, though he appears to have been confidentially consulted on State affairs, was not reinstated in the Council for some months.* Archbishop Heath, probably on a hint from the now all-powerful Cecil, resigned the Great Seal in favour of Cecil's brother-in-law, Sir Nicholas Bacon (father of the still more celebrated Chancellor).

The new Parliament, composed principally of the nominees of the Crown, assembled on the 25th, and Sir Nicholas Bacon, in an opening speech, unfolded the policy of the Crown. Before all things the Queen desired to advance God's honour and glory, and required Parliament, for the duty they owed to Him and to their country, to secure and unite the people of the realm in one uniform order, devising nothing which in continuance of time might breed idolatry and superstition, and yet not giving occasion for contempt and irreverent behaviour towards God or godly things—by which she meant the re-establishment of a Protestant religion less canting and less intolerant than that established by her brother Edward.† The next important points referred to were the impoverished exchequer, the national debt, the inefficient state of the army and navy, and, in short, the defenceless condition of "the ragged State, torn by misgovernment" and surrounded by enemies.

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* Besides Lords Bedford (Francis Russell, the second Earl, born 1528) and Northampton, Sir Thomas Parry, Sir Edward Rogers, Sir Ambrose Cave, and Sir Francis Knollys, were also added to the Council. Of these, Sir Thomas Parry and Sir Ambrose Cave (afterwards Chancellor of the Duchy of Lancaster) were, like Bacon, connections of Cecil; Knollys (son of Robert Knollys, Gentleman of the Bedchamber to Henry VIII.) was a cousin of Elizabeth's, through the Boleyns; and Rogers (afterwards Comptroller of the Household) was probably a personal friend to the Queen, or had been kind to her mother, or to herself in her younger days, like Parr. At all events, she did not show herself unmindful of family ties and associations. For example, she created her cousin, Carey (a grandson of Sir Thomas Boleyn), Lord Hunsdon, and appointed Andrew Parker, who had been her mother's chaplain, Archbishop of Canterbury. Sir Ralph Sadleir was not at first put on the Council: perhaps his anti-papist principles were too well known. He certainly was a more experienced statesman than any of the new knights, not excepting Cecil; but we must make allowance for the Queen's strong partialities, and I doubt whether such an independent adviser would have suited her as well as the supple Cecil. It is very probable, too, that Sir Ralph would not again accept the onerous and invidious post of Secretary in his matured age.

There is a break in the register of the "Privy Council Records" from May 1559 to January 1562. I cannot, therefore, say exactly when Sir Ralph was reinstated in the Council, but there is other evidence to shew it was in the first year of Queen Elizabeth's reign.

† Accordingly, the English Prayer Book came again into use in June 1559.

On the 3rd of February a money Bill was introduced, to legalise a subsidy for the purpose of paying back the sums borrowed from foreign merchants at a ruinous rate of interest, and putting the defences of the country in repair. In the discussion which ensued it was urged the Queen should at once marry, or make some arrangement for the succession, lest the country should be plunged into war by her death, similar to the Wars of the Roses.

The result of the debate was that Parliament granted the subsidy, and sent a deputation to Elizabeth begging her to "be pleased to take unto herself a husband." She returned a vague reply, intimating her desire to spend her life for the good of her people, and if she married she would choose a husband who would be as careful for them as herself. She thought, however, she would be able, with the help of Parliament, to fix on a fit successor to the Crown. As far as her own feelings went, it would be enough "that a marble stone should declare that a Queen, having reigned such a time, lived and died a virgin."

It was from no lack of suitors that the fair young queen hesitated to marry. Philip of Spain (her brother-in-law),* the King of Sweden, and some German Princes were already in the field; but she was at this time in love with Lord Robert Dudley,† whom she had appointed her Master of the Horse and would doubtless have married, sooner or later, but for ambition and the love of supreme power, which prevented her sharing her crown with anyone.

But in spite of the moderation with which the religion of England was again reformed, the Papists were on the edge of a revolt, and the foreign powers encouraged them. Before Parliament was dissolved (8th May), matters looked threatening. "The Council," De Quadra, the Spanish ambassador, wrote to King Philip, "are in an agony to have the Queen married to someone. Cecil and his immediate friends wish her to choose at home, the rest are frightened at the attitude of the Catholics—they apprehend a revolt, and prefer Archduke Charles." It was probably at this time that Sadleir made his speech in the Privy Council,‡ to which he was "so lately called to serve," pointing out to the Queen the uncertain state of affairs, and begging her to provide for the surety of her subjects by establishing her succession. "I am sure," continued he, "that by the same your Majesty shall win the hearts of all your people—which is the greatest strength and safeguard a prince can have. If your Majesty should now end your Parliament,

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* Philip offered to obtain a dispensation from the Pope for marriage with his sister-in-law.

† Youngest son of the late Duke of Northumberland.

‡ Sir Walter Scott says the speech was delivered about 1561 (see Sadler State Papers, Vol. II., p. 553). But Sadleir was recalled to the Privy Council in the first year of the Queen's reign. Moreover, there is other internal evidence supporting my hypothesis as to its date.

and leave your people void of hope and desperate of the succession, which is now so much urged and required at your hands, and so your Nobles and Commons go home grieved and discontented; and when they come home, their countrymen shall enquire of them what is done (for your Highness may be sure that all men hearken to this matter), and some of them percase will advisedly answer, and some others percase rashly and unadvisedly will say, 'We have done nothing but given away your money; the Queen hath what she looked for, but she hath no care of us'—how your people's hearts will be wounded with this!"

The speech concluded thus:—"It is better, I say, to have it decided now, when it may be done in a quiet manner, than to leave it to come to trial and judgment hereafter by the sword, where victory in bloody battle shall be the only judge, and whereby it may come to pass that a usurper shall enjoy the garlands and the right heir be excluded."

But notwithstanding the forcible arguments of such a wise and experienced statesman, Elizabeth did not name a successor, although she dallied with lover and suitor. Had the lover been suitable, or the suitor lovable, perhaps the problem would have been promptly solved.

Mary Queen of Scots, and Dauphiness of France (she married the Dauphin in April, 1558), was the most formidable of Elizabeth's rivals. On her the English Papists rested their hopes, and through her the French politicians hoped to see France, England, and Scotland united under one crown, forming a preponderating power in Europe. Fortunately for Elizabeth, such a combination would be fatal to Spain, and Philip accordingly gave her his countenance and support.

Fortunately, too, Scotland herself now contained an influential party resolutely opposed to the papal and French faction. To explain how this took place it will be necessary for me to retrace my steps a little. The reader will recollect that the battle of Pinkie only served to make the English hated in Scotland, and how when a treaty was ratified a couple of years later (1549) between England and France, one condition was that the English should retire altogether from Scotland. The French had it then their own way; Mary of Lorraine, supported by French soldiers, soon compelled the Earl of Arran* to resign the Regency in her favour, and gradually the Hamiltons, Douglases, Gordons, and Campbells found themselves superseded by Frenchmen in all the offices of the State, and Scotland altogether governed by foreigners. Meantime, the Reformation had gained ground in Scotland, and the "Congregation," or Protestant party, was also naturally opposed to the papistical French Government. The Scotch

* Arran received the French Dukedom of Chatelherault as a recompense.

lords, therefore—some through religious conviction, and some through political expediency—joined the Congregation, and thus a very powerful national or anti-French body was formed. No one can pretend to describe, however briefly, the Reformation in Scotland without introducing John Knox into the foreground. He was taken prisoner by the French when the Castle of St. Andrew's surrendered in 1547, and remained in captivity until 1550, when he came to England and helped Cranmer in establishing the Reformation there. On Mary's accession he fled to Germany. In 1555 he returned to Scotland, where he found several pious English divines who had taken refuge there from the Marian persecution. Knox instilled new life into the rather lukewarm Protestantism of Scotland, and Lord James Murray (illegitimate brother of Mary Queen of Scots), Lord Lorne (afterwards Earl of Argyle), and the Earl of Glencairn became his staunch supporters; but the anger of the Papists was aroused, and Knox had to fly for his life to Geneva. Nevertheless, his preaching bore good fruit, and his principles flourished, to the annoyance of the priesthood. Mary of Lorraine, as Regent, had hitherto treated the reformed party with moderation; but the spirit of persecution which Mary inaugurated in England had spread abroad, and Philip in the Low Countries and Henry II. in France persecuted the Reformers with fire and sword. Mary of Lorraine's brothers—the Guises—made themselves especially conspicuous in hunting down the Huguenots, and hounded on Mary to check the growth of heresy in Scotland. In 1558, an old man of eighty, Walter Miln, was burnt for his reformed views, and systematic persecution plainly overshadowed Protestantism. The Congregation sprung up to attention. John Knox was invited back. He arrived on 3rd of May, 1559, amidst great excitement. His preaching and the Regent's persecution had tended to strengthen the cause, and he found that his views had spread throughout the masses, and that the Lords of the Congregation were prepared to assert their rights and doctrines.

Eloquence is a powerful lever of human feelings at any time, but when men are excited and times portentous its effect is magical. The week after his return Knox preached at Perth, and inveighed with all his fiery oratory against Papists and their idolatry, and excited his congregation to such an extent that after the sermon they not only broke down the shrine and its ornaments, but rushed out in headlong frenzy and demolished the religious houses of the Grey and Black Friars and the Carthusian monastery. This brought matters to a crisis. The hateful Congregation were no longer mere "heretics;" they were "rebels and rioters," and the Queen Regent determined to crush them; and summoning Chatelherault, Athole, and D'Oisell to her aid, marched with a force to Perth. The Protestants were at first inferior in numbers, but Glencairn opportunely arrived with a

reinforcement of 2,500 men, and the Regent, doubtful as to the issue of a fight, came to terms. It was agreed that both armies should disperse; that the town should be open to the Queen, on condition she left no French garrison there; and that no one was to be brought to trial for any of the late changes in religion.

So far the Congregation had the best of it; but the Regent only bided her time, as they soon learnt. The Lords of the Congregation then agreed to a compact of mutual support. A large number of Protestants assembled at St. Andrew's—the hot-bed of Popery—and in spite of the Archbishop, Knox preached there. The sermon had a similar effect to that in Perth, and the monasteries of the Dominican and Franciscan monks were destroyed.

Again the Queen Regent marched against the Protestants, and again she declined a battle; for she found the forces of the Congregation strongly and skilfully posted on Couper Moor. Trusting no longer to promises, and elated by their success, the Protestants marched to Edinburgh and took possession of it (29th June, 1559), whilst the Queen Regent took refuge in Dunbar. The Lords of the Congregation saw they had gone too far to retreat, and foreseeing that the Queen Regent would receive reinforcements from France, while they themselves had no funds to support their followers, resolved to demand aid from England, in the shape either of men or money, and supported their appeal by the argument that if the French Government and the papal religion gained the upper hand in Scotland, England would be sure to suffer for it. Now, just at this juncture news reached Elizabeth's Council that Henry II. was dead* (July 1559), and that consequently the Dauphin and his wife, Mary Queen of Scots, were now King and Queen of France, and also that they had quartered the arms of England and Ireland with those of France and Scotland—that is to say, Mary laid claim to Elizabeth's crown. The matter was of the greatest importance, and Elizabeth's ministers gave it their anxious and earnest attention. The recent treaty of peace with Scotland formed an obstacle to their openly assisting the Lords of the Congregation. So it was determined to aid them secretly, at all events for the present, while, as an additional manœuvre to outflank Mary Queen of Scots, the Earl of Arran (eldest son of the Duke of Chatelherault, and, failing issue on Mary's part, heir presumptive to the Scottish crown) was invited from France, with a view to his becoming leader of the Protestant party, marrying Elizabeth, and uniting England and Scotland to the exclusion of Mary.

In order to carry out the first resolve, the Queen issued a commission to Sir Ralph Sadleir, the Earl of Northumberland (Warden of the East

* He died from a wound he received while tilting, at the celebration of the wedding of his daughter with Philip of Spain.

Marches), and Sir James Croft (Governor of Berwick), for the ostensible purpose of arranging certain disputes that had occurred on the Border, and overseeing the restoration of the dilapidated fortifications of Berwick. "But the more important task of supplying the wants and animating the courage of the Scottish insurgents was reposed in Sadleir alone, with power to use the advice of the others in so far as he thought it prudent or necessary."*

The instructions to Sadleir—who was no doubt the advocate, if not the actual originator of the whole plan—directed† him in the first place to "nourish the faction between the French and the Scotch, so that the French may be better occupied with them, and the less busy with England. To foster a good feeling towards England, and lastly to explore the very truth whether Lord James Murray (Queen Mary's half-brother) do mean any enterprise toward the Crown of Scotland for himself or no. And if he do, and the Duke of Chatelherault be found very cold in his own cause, to let Lord James‡ follow his own device therein without dissuading or persuading him anything therein."

Further and final instructions, signed by the Queen at Nonsuch, 8th of August, 1559, gave Sadleir the power of conferring or treating with any person, either in England or Scotland, for the special purposes he was entrusted with, and authorised him to reward anyone in Scotland, as he thought meet, out of three thousand pounds in gold, which she had ordered the Lord Treasurer to deliver to him.§

And so Sadleir was once more entrusted with the herculean task of uniting England and Scotland.

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* Sir Walter Scott. (Sadler State Papers, Vol. I., p. 375.)

† It was customary on all these occasions to give formal instructions, so as to prevent any misunderstanding or excess of duty on the part of the Commissioner.

‡ Arran had already arrived in London, and the sharp eyes of Cecil and the Queen soon saw he was not the man to govern Scotland or to marry Elizabeth.

§ Sadler State Papers, Vol. I., p. 392.

CHAPTER XVII.

SADLEIR COMFORTS THE SCOTCH LORDS OF THE CONGREGATION.

(1559–60.)

Sir Ralph Sadleir arrived at Berwick about the 18th of August (1559). His retinue included fifteen gentlemen (judging from their high pay), among whom were two of his sons* and his Secretary, Railton; and we may presume a goodly band of servants and followers.

Two hundred and forty-one letters, besides fifteen memoranda contained in the Sadler State Papers, refer to Sir Ralph's mission during the eight months he continued on the Border. Among them are letters from Queen Elizabeth, Mary of Lorraine (the Regent), Lord James Murray, John Knox, the Earl of Arran, Cecil,† &c. The majority of them are very interesting and important—"papers of great concerne," as some of them are endorsed—and furnish the historian with abundant facts concerning this momentous occasion, while the superscription on some of them, "Hast, Hast, Post Hast! for the lief, lief, lief!" reminds one of the fierceness and excitement of the age, and is suggestive of couriers who

> "Staid not for brake and stopped not for stone,
> And swam the Esk river where ford there was none,"

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* Thomas Sadleir and Richard Sadleir are the names given. Thomas was Sir Ralph's eldest son, and Godson of Thomas Cromwell, Earl of Essex. His other sons were Edward and Henry, and unless the name is a mistake, Richard was probably an illegitimate son of Sir Ralph's elsewhere alluded to. The list was not written by Sir Ralph, for it is headed "A rate of your worldly charges for your selfe and your Retinewe, if you shoulde bourde within an Hoer," and enumerates:—

Sir Ralph Sadleir	XXs.
R. Bo	Xs.
Thos. Sadleir	Xs.
Rich. Sadleir	Xs.
&c. &c.	

Further on, in the same set of papers, are the following names—probably of Sir Ralph's [illegible] Grey Cloak, Grey Sorrel, Grey Forster, Bay Forster, the Hall horse, the Herryet, Grey Stevens, Bay Reynolds, Grey Palmer, Lyarde Grey, Bay Markham, Bay Bowes.

* Cecil was most frequently in correspondence, officially as well as privately. The difference between Sadleir's position, and the friendly tone of his private letters, is indicated by the [illegible] Sir Ralph. The following gives a picture of the [illegible] Cecil writes from Berwick, 1559.—"Here I am, and like to be a fortnight or a month. My Lord of Arran is come hither and I mean to return to Court by Standon (Sir Ralph's home), on Sunday at dinner."

eager eyes peering from battlements, watch and ward night and day, horses always saddled, pistols ready primed.

Sadleir at once addressed himself to his triple task. Lest the real object of his coming to Berwick should be suspected by the Queen Regent, a letter was sent to her apprising her of his coming, and requesting her to name Commissioners to confer with him, the Earl of Northumberland, and Sir James Croft (whom the Queen of England had deputed for the purpose), on the state of the Border, and come to some agreement as to the better government of it.

As to the fortifications of Berwick, Sadleir reported that Sir Richard Leigh* had done as much as possible in the time, but still a great deal remained to be done, in order to put the town in a proper state of defence; and he recommended the Queen to complete the works, costly though they would be, and also to send some of the nobility or Council to inspect the fortifications before the spring; "for surely the works be worthy the seeing, being both fair and likely to be made very strong."†

Third, and chief. On the day after Sir Ralph arrived (20th August), he penned a cautious letter, in Sir James Croft's name, to the energetic agent of the Congregation, John Knox,‡ requesting that "Mr. Henry Balnaves, or some other discreet and trusty man, might secretly repair to Berwick, to confer on this great and weighty business with Sir Ralph Sadleir, who was specially come for the purpose."

On the same day Sadleir and Croft wrote to Cecil, explaining how the "secret affair" stood, and saying that "nothing might advance the same more than the presence of the Earl of Arran in Scotland, who should have more estimation there than his father"—the Duke of Chatelherault, who had grown more feeble and vacillating than ever. But they worshipped an unknown god; Arran was now at the English Court, where he made no way into the good graces of the Queen, who soon discovered he was even more weak-minded than his father—in fact, he went mad a couple of years afterwards.

Sadleir distrusted the Earl of Northumberland, and did not admit him into the secret, and as events proved Sir Ralph was right; for Northumberland was afterwards beheaded for engaging in the Papist insurrection of 1569.

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* Sir Richard Leigh was the greatest military engineer of the day, and saw a great deal of service at the siege of Boulogne, Pinkie, and elsewhere. Sir Ralph Sadleir's second son, Edward, married his daughter Anne, and eventually succeeded to Sopwell (near St. Alban's) and all the Leigh property.

† Sadler State Papers, Vol. I., p. 106.

‡ Knox had previously corresponded with Croft and Cecil on the subject. Sadleir did not know him at this time. "One thing must I suit of you: to wit, that either by yourself, or else by Sir Rafe Sadleyr, to whom I could not write because no acquaintance hath been betwixt us, you would procure a license for my mother, Elizabeth Bowes, to visit me."—*Knox to Sir James Croft, 21st Sept.*, 1559. (See Sadler State Papers, Vol. I., p. 456 and 491).

At midnight, on the 6th of September, Balnaves stole into Berwick Castle, having come by sea, and, as arranged, landed at Holy Island. The next day Sadleir and he had a long conference. According to Balnaves, all the Lords' Congregation wanted was "comfort" in the shape of money, so as to "keep together 1000 arquebusiers and 300 horsemen for two or three months, besides such power as they trusted to make at their own charge; and if they might have such relief at Her Majesty's hands, they would either achieve their enterprise or spend their lives in pursuit thereof."* Sadleir remembered all too well "how liberal Her Majesty's father was in 1543 to the nobility of Scotland, and how little they considered it." "Balnaves confessed this to be true, but said the case is now much different, for then we sought of them, but now they seek of us." And, in fine, Sadleir gave Balnaves £2,000 for the Lords of the Congregation.

"Now all the while of the talk with Mr. Balnaves, was the Earl of Arran in the Castle, the one not knowing of the other; for the Earl arrived at night, within three hours after Balnaves. We told the Earl that Balnaves was here, and brought them together, at which Balnaves seemed to rejoice very much."

The next night Balnaves went back to Scotland as secretly as he came. Arran followed in a few days, and succeeded in arriving at his father's castle of Hamilton without being discovered.†

The Lords of the Congregation had, as we have seen, triumphantly taken possession of Edinburgh, on the 29th of the preceding June, but owing to want of funds they were unable to maintain their followers, and had to retire before a month, with only a small band, to Stirling. But now the return of Balnaves from Berwick, with £2,000 in hand and the promise of further aid from England, gave the Lords of the Congregation fresh courage. They enrolled the "arquebusiers" and regular cavalry, gathered their clans, re-entered Edinburgh on the 18th of October, and besieged Leith, which had in the meantime been strongly fortified and garrisoned with fresh troops from France.

Being deficient in artillery and proper siege appliances, the forces of the Congregation made little or no impression on that strong fortress; while, owing to a want of provisions, desertions became frequent. Under these circumstances, Lord Ormeston was despatched for more comfort to Sir Ralph Sadleir, who gave him £1,000. Of course Ormeston's errand was kept as secret as possible, and every precaution taken to conceal his object and movements; nevertheless, he was attacked on his way back, wounded and robbed of the £1,000. The incident is

* Sadler State Papers, Vol. I. p. 133.

† Captain Barnaby or Randolph had accompanied Arran from London to Berwick, and accordingly the Arran's correspondence with Scotland, whereby he remained for many years as the confidential and intelligent agent of the English Government, which no longer considered Scotland worth the importance or expense of an ambassador.

illustrative of the lawlessness and treachery of the Scots at this period; for the leader of the robbers was not a common highwayman, but Hepburn, Earl of Bothwell—afterwards notorious for still more outrageous conduct—who had wormed himself into the confidence of the Lords of the Congregation, and pretended to be their friend. The punishment was of a piece with the crime; for "when word came that Ormeston was hurt and the money lost, the Earl of Arran and Lord James went with 200 horsemen and 100 footmen and two pieces of artillery to the Lord Bothwell's house, trusting to have found him there; howbeit they came too late only by a quarter of an hour. They have, however, taken his house; and unless he render the money out of hand, this day his house shall be set a fire, and his goods reserved in recompense for the money, and he to be taken as an enemy to the whole Lords of the Congregation."*

The loss of the money was accompanied by another simultaneous misfortune. On the 5th of November the French sallied from Lieth, and attacking the besiegers, defeated them with great loss. The citizens of Edinburgh, too, growing tired of the warlike operations, treated the Reformers with marked dislike, and the result of it all was that on the 6th of November the Congregation precipitately abandoned the town at midnight, and once more took refuge in Stirling.

But though Sadleir sent them some more money, and Knox gave them spiritual consolation, the Congregation required still more substantial assistance, and they determined to send Maitland of Lethington (who had resigned his secretaryship to Mary of Lorraine, in order to join them), on a special mission to Elizabeth, and indeed it became evident that the English aid could no longer be kept a secret. The Government therefore resolved to help the Protestants of Scotland openly, on their publicly representing (at Cecil's private dictation!) "that this practice of the French is not attempted against the Kingdom of Scotland but against the crown of England and Ireland; for we know most certainly that the French have devised to spread abroad, though most falsely, that our Queen is right heir to England and Ireland, and to notify the same to the world, have in paintings in public jousts in France and other places this year caused the arms of England to be borne quarterly with the arms of Scotland, meaning nothing less than to annex them both perpetually to the crown of France."†

Elizabeth promised to send an armed force into Scotland early in the following year, and the Congregation as well as the French prepared for the coming struggle.

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* Randolph to Sir R. Sadleir and Sir J. Croft, 4th of November 1559. (Sadler State Papers, Vol. I., p. 536.) Sadleir was evidently less concerned at the loss of the money than at the apparent discovery of his secret object.

† Sadler State Papers, Vol. I., p. 570.

Meantime, Sir Ralph Sadleir was, in addition to his diplomatic duties, appointed (5th November, 1559), Warden of the East and Middle Marches, on the removal of the Earl of Northumberland to Court. Sir Ralph had reported to the Queen that in his twenty years' experience of the Borders he had never known them so badly governed, and recommended that there should be three wardens, as in the time of Her Majesty's father, King Henry VIII., instead of only two, and named Sir James Croft for the East Marches, and Sir John Forster for the Middle; (the West to remain as before, under Lord Dacre). But the Queen, instead of acting on his advice altogether, simply recalled Northumberland, and appointed Sir Ralph himself Warden —a post honourable no doubt, but troublesome and expensive.

The Sadler Papers contain various notes and memos. "for the better executing of the office of the wardenry," as well as some curious appeals for justice, which shew that the post was no sinecure; however, Sir Ralph performed the duties with his usual energy, and in spite of his entreaties to be disburdened of his office, was not apparently relieved until his presence was more pressingly required at Leith in the following April.*

In January, 1560, both the French party in Scotland and the Lords of the Congregation expected assistance from their respective friends. The French knew that D'Elbeuf had been at Dieppe for some time, under orders to sail with a strong force to their assistance. The Protestants were aware that Admiral Winter, with fourteen men of war, was on his way to the Firth of Forth to help themselves. D'Oisell, the French Commandant at Leith, in anticipation of his friend's arrival, marched out of Leith with the intention of attacking St. Andrew's, and had concentrated his troops at Dysart, on the northern shore of the Firth. Meantime, a storm which had raged in the north sea almost totally destroyed D'Elbeuf's fleet; so instead of his arriving to aid D'Oisell, Winter, who had taken refuge in Lowestoft, appeared in the Firth, captured two vessels containing D'Oisell's ammunition and provisions, shut off his sea communications, and consequently obliged him to march back his baffled and starving troops round by Stirling into Leith Fort. Winter's object was to prevent fresh reinforcements

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The [illegible] appeals:—

Three applications to the Privy Council.

[illegible] Henry [illegible] Sir Ralph Sadleir, Warden of the East and Middle Marches, &c.

[illegible] Willow Berwick, late [illegible] Oswald [illegible] Lord Grey of Wilton [illegible] Sir Ralph Sadleir [illegible] Sir Ralph Sadleir [illegible] Sir Ralph Sadleir

entering Leith from France, and with the help of the storm he accomplished it most satisfactorily, in addition to blockading Leith.

The land forces which Elizabeth, in conformity with Sadleir's advice, decided on sending into Scotland as soon as the spring season should favour military operations, were under the command of the Duke of Norfolk and Lord Grey de Wilton. The latter was a skilful commander and tried soldier, who had distinguished himself at Pinkie. The Duke of Norfolk—ill-fated son of the ill-fated Surrey—was an intelligent and ambitious young Catholic nobleman, to whom the Queen and Cecil desired to pay a compliment, for the purpose of encouraging his loyalty. He was therefore placed at the head of the expedition, but only nominally; for Lord Grey actually commanded the troops, while Sadleir really conducted the diplomatic arrangements.

The Duke of Norfolk and Lord Grey having reached Berwick about the middle of January, a treaty was concluded there with the Lords of the Congregation* which bound the Queen to assist the Congregation in expelling the French from Scotland, and bound the Congregation to prevent any union of Scotland and France, and to furnish an auxiliary force of four thousand men to the English in case France should now go to war with England.

This treaty being concluded, and hostages being given by the Scotch Lords as guarantees of good faith, Lord Grey crossed the Border on the 25th of March, with 6,000 foot and 2,000 horse. Norfolk and Sadleir remained at Berwick with the reserves.† Traversing the well-known coast road, Grey joined the army of the Congregation on the 4th of April at Preston Pans—a few miles from Leith and close to Pinkie, where, eleven years before, he met the Scotch in mortal strife. He was more than annoyed to find that they had engaged their men for only a fortnight longer, that Leith had been exceedingly well fortified, and was garrisoned with 4,000 men, while his own heavy

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* Maitland, Balnaves, Pitarrow, and Lord Ruthvin were the Scotch Commissioners.

† Sir James Croft went with Lord Grey, and Sadleir was appointed Governor of Berwick. The Duke of Norfolk and Sir Ralph apparently messed together, and there was some difficulty in providing their table. A MS. letter, dated February, 1559-60, in the Duke of Devonshire's collection at Bolton Abbey, from M—— at Newcastle, to the Earl of Cumberland, states the writer's intention of going to visit the Duke of Norfolk, and begs that venison may be sent with all speed. "for my Lord's Grace and Sir Ralph Sadleir said both to me, that . . . . . could at no time come out of the season, tho' it were very lean, as there was none fat of their own confession."—*Third Report of Royal Commission on Historical Manuscripts*. 1872. And the Sadler State Papers contain more than one letter about wine which Sir Ralph had sent for to Newcastle (whither it was imported from France), and there was difficulty in conveying to Berwick, owing to the bad state of the roads in the winter season.

It is to be recollected that the new year's day was formerly on the 25th of March. Hence we often find letters dated January, 1559, for instance, which according to modern mode of computation would mean January, 1560.

guns, which were coming round by sea, had not yet arrived. He had hardly enough of money for his own troops, and "all the Lords wanted to borrow."

A well-founded rumour that Elizabeth meant to make a separate treaty with the Queen Regent disconcerted the Lords of the Congregation and increased Grey's perplexity still more; in fact, Norfolk received a letter from Cecil on the 15th of April saying the Queen desired to come to amicable terms, and directed him to send Sadleir to Edinburgh for the purpose. Norfolk replied that "the Queen's Majesty gathered no frustrate opinion of Sir R. Sadleir in choosing him as the meetest instrument to serve Her Majesty there, who, making no comparison, is best esteemed with the Scots of any Englishman, and with his credit there is able to do most for the Queen's Majesty's service;"* but that he was already gone—not gone, however, to diplomatise, but at the head of 3,000 men. Sir Ralph arrived at Grey's camp next day (the 16th). His coming infused new courage and confidence into the *British* camp. How pleased he must have been to see, as the fruit of his own diplomacy, the English and Scotch armies fighting side by side! The lines were pushed to within six hundred yards of the walls, and the batteries day after day vigorously bombarded the place. Consequently Elizabeth altered her mind about peace, and directed Grey to take Leith if he could. On the 30th of April the town was set on fire, and a great portion of it was destroyed; and on the 6th of May, a practicable breach having been apparently made, an assault by land and sea was determined upon.

"In the evening, after all had been settled, Sir Ralph Sadleir, William Kircaldy, and Croft went forward to examine the ground. It was dusk, but as well as they could see, the breaches were extremely dangerous, if not wholly impracticable. They agreed that the attack must be deferred; and Sadleir and Kircaldy went to their tents, leaving Croft going, as they supposed, to Grey, to report their opinion. For some reason which was never known, the original order was maintained."†

Accordingly, in the grey dawn of the next morning the storming parties rushed over the outworks and gallantly attempted to scale the walls. As was for seen, the breach was impracticable, and 'old, old story!' the scaling ladders were too short. For two hours the assailants struggled in the ditches, trying in vain to surmount the escarp, and exposed to a murderous flank fire. At length they retreated, leaving

* Foreign Calendar Elizabeth, 1560-61, Hamilton Papers, Vol. I., p. 724.

† Froude. Kirkcaldy was there in person, Kirkcaldy of Grange, who was for years the most powerful of the Scottish nobles, and who, after the reputation of being the finest soldier amongst the Lords of the Congregation.

nearly a thousand comrades dead before the walls. The repulse spread dismay and discomfiture in the Anglo-Scottish camp, at all events among the rank and file—for the leaders were brave and persevering. "If the French knew how weak we are," wrote Sadleir to Norfolk, "it might be dangerous to us. Many fall sick, many daily and nightly steal away, or run from us; those which remain are so wearied with watch and ward that they and their captains murmur and grudge at it; and it is rather to be feared they will mutiny and leave us in the field, than to be hoped that any good service is to be looked for at their hands."*

The French, on the other hand, had their own troubles. Winter kept up a strict blockade, starvation stared them in the face, and the French leaders feared that their men also would mutiny. The English, however, had this advantage, that there was no obstruction to their receiving reinforcements, ammunition, and provisions from England, and they were promised ten thousand additional men with plenty of stores.

But in the meanwhile, both the English and French Governments desired peace. England was in an unsettled state, owing to the disaffection of the Catholics, who, secretly encouraged by French agents, threatened an insurrection. Plots to assassinate the Queen and Dudley were whispered about, money had to be borrowed from Antwerp merchants to pay the expenses of the war, and altogether an uneasy feeling pervaded the Court and the Council. France was not better off. Trogmorton, the English Ambassador, fomented discontent amongst the Huguenots, and the Duke of Guise (uncle to the young Queen), had even more reason to fear them than Elizabeth had to fear the Papists. Moreover, if France drained herself of troops to attack England, her old enemy, Spain, would not let the opportunity slip of invading her. The two nations, therefore, desired peace at heart, and Commissioners were appointed to treat of it—those on the English side being Sadleir,† Cecil, Wotton, Sir Henry Percy, and Sir Peter Carew.

It was agreed that the meeting should take place at Edinburgh. Both the English and French Commissioners arrived there by the 16th of June. But already the French diplomatists had met with a great loss in the death of the Regent. Mary of Lorraine, Duchesse de Longueville, Queen Dowager and Regent of Scotland, died of dropsy ten days previously. A high-born beauty of the ducal House of Guise, her hand was sought by many princely suitors, and she married when quite young. Left a widow soon afterwards, she married James V.

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* Sir Ralph Sadleir to the Duke of Norfolk, 11th May, 1560. (MS. Rolls House.)

† I place Sadleir first because he took the leading part in this treaty, so well known as the "Treaty of Leith."

of Scotland as her second husband, and met with a series of misfortunes in her adopted country—Solway Moss and her husband's death, Pinkie Clough and her daughter's exile, Couper Moor and the Protestant triumph; still for nineteen years the pride and spirit that characterised the race of Guise sustained her through all her difficulties, and won admiration from friend and foe.*

The conference opened on the 17th (June, 1560). An armistice was allowed for a week, and the armies had leisure to exchange courtesies;† but considerable discussion and altercation took place over each proposed term of treaty. The French Commissioners contended each point with as much pertinacity as D'Oisell had defended Leith; but those diplomatists which have the stronger army in the background must always prove superior. The English Commissioners pressed each point with the threat that unless it was conceded "all conference must be broken off; the Duke of Norfolk should receive orders to advance with his army into Scotland, and the matter must once more be committed to the arbitrement of the sword."‡

It was thus that the French Commissioners agreed that Mary should abandon "the arms and style" of England, or open claim to Elizabeth's crown; that French troops should be withdrawn for ever from Scotland, as well as the English; that none but Scotchmen should be placed in the high offices of the State; that there was to be a general amnesty and pardon for all political offences hitherto committed. These were the principal terms of the "Treaty of Leith," which was signed on the 6th of July; and so at last the French were driven out of Scotland, the Reformation was established on both sides of the Tweed,§ the English and Scotch were friends once more, and the foundation stone of the union of the two nations was permanently laid. "The treaty," wrote Cecil to the Queen, "would finally procure that conquest of Scotland which none of your progenitors, with all their battles ever obtained—namely, the whole hearts and goodwills of the nobility and people, which surely was better for England than the revenue of the Crown." "No better service," wrote Lord Clinton,

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* Even when she knew her illness had gone beyond recovery, she had herself frequently carried to the Mound of Edinburgh Castle, to watch the defence of Leith, and continued to send encouragement and encouragement to the gallant D'Oisell.

† "The French and English officers met at a sort of picnic on Leith Sands, 'each bringing with them such victuals as he had in store.' From Grey's camp came hams, capons, chickens, wine, and beer. The French produced a solitary fowl, a piece of baked horse, and six dishes of roasted rats. The last, they said, was the best fresh meat in the town, but of that they could not spare more."—*Randolph's Letter to Killigrew, June 22nd.* (*MS. Rolls House.*)

‡ For this, however, failed when Cecil demanded the restitution of Calais.

§ By the treaty, a Scotch Parliament met next month in Edinburgh. It was [illegible] Barons, and [illegible] By a sweeping majority, the Protestant faith was sanctioned as the national religion, and the popish rites were abolished.

"has ever been done to England." Undoubtedly, Sir Ralph's special mission on the Border had been crowned with success.

The peace with France and the friendship with Scotland strengthened the Queen's home Government, and proportionately weakened the hopes and cause of the Catholics. The Council next turned to domestic affairs, and pressed Elizabeth to marry. Royal suitors from all quarters continued to seek her hand—and crown; but Anne Boleyn's daughter, having the crown fixed on her head, reserved her hand for patting Lord Robert Dudley's handsome cheek, and laughed at her political admirers. In short, Dudley received so much encouragement that, though the grandson of an extortionate tax-gatherer, he aspired to the vacant seat on the throne, and the excitement and scandal which prevailed at Court reached a climax when his wife—poor Amy Robsart—was found dead of a broken neck at the foot of the staircase in her solitary country residence.*

There was now no legal obstacle to the Queen's marriage with Lord Robert, but Elizabeth's pride prevented her bestowing her hand on the man who already owned her heart.

The close of the year (1560) witnessed another death, more important than Lady Dudley's. Francis II. died on the 5th of December, leaving Mary Queen of Scots a childless young widow, and no longer Queen of France.

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* Before this occurred, it was whispered at Court that Lord Robert meant to get rid of his wife by a divorce, or some way.

CHAPTER XVIII.

MARY STUART ON HER NATIVE THRONE.

(1561–66.)

When Francis II. died, his young brother Henry succeeded to the crown, under the regency of his astute and unscrupulous mother, Catharine de Medici. Mary Stuart soon found herself *de trop* at the French Court, and, French though she was in feeling and education, she determined to return to her native kingdom. She landed at Leith in August, 1561, after thirteen years' absence from Scotland, and took up her abode in Holyrood.

Edinburgh did not contrast more unfavourably with Paris than did Mary's new Court with the one she left; but her Scottish subjects had given her a warm welcome, and she felt happier as a Queen in her own palace, such as it was, than as a Dowager in the magnificent *salons* over which Catharine de Medici presided.

The beauty of a Greek nymph, the weakness of a young woman, the independence of a French widow, and the license of a mediæval sovereign were all combined in the youthful Queen,* who now wielded Scotland's sceptre. The country was wild and unprofitable, the people rude and refractory, the nobility poor and proud, the time was turbulent, and the kingdom was torn with dissension. Such was Mary Queen of Scots, and such was her kingdom; and in judging her subsequent career we must not forget the circumstances and associations that surrounded her.

It was fortunate for England and Protestantism that the recent order of things had been established before Mary took the reins of Government. A Scotchwoman and a Catholic, she would have rallied round her the national and papal party, and would probably have suppressed the Congregation as well as any treaty with England; but it is difficult to undo a settled state of affairs, and Mary was obliged to accept the party in power. She therefore appointed Maitland of Lethington as Secretary, and her natural brother, Lord James Murray, as Chief Adviser, though both were decided Protestants and advocates of the English alliance. The selection was not without wisdom: Murray and Maitland had the confidence of the now powerful Congregation, and, in addition, possessed considerable influence with

* She was only in her nineteenth year when she returned to Scotland.

the English Council; and as one of the main objects of Mary's policy was the acknowledgment of her right of succession to the English crown after Elizabeth's death, she wisely fixed on these two clever statesmen as the most likely agents to obtain the wished-for concession from Elizabeth.*

The English Government, on the other hand, knew that the Queen of Scots was the fountain head of Romanism in England as well as Scotland, and that she was backed up by the Pope, the King of Spain, and the Emperor of Germany, and that she would not scruple to seize upon the crown of England, should fortune bring it within her grasp. It was the policy, therefore, of Elizabeth's Council to weaken rather than strengthen Mary's position, and to induce her to marry some native Protestant nobleman who would play into their hands rather than some foreign Catholic prince who would naturally oppose them. These were the under-currents which during the early years of Mary's reign ran in opposite directions beneath a calm surface, and prevented a thorough fusion of the interests of the two kingdoms. The two Queens wrote affectionate letters to each other as "loving sisters," but each secretly played "beggar my neighbour" all the time.

Meantime, the whole English nation was anxious that Queen Elizabeth should marry, or settle the succession in some way, so as to prevent civil war in case of her death. But Elizabeth neither wished to marry or to name her successor, and treated the question with masterly inaction. The requirements of her Treasury at last compelled her to summon a Parliament to grant new supplies.

Her second Parliament accordingly met in January, 1563, and a stormy session ensued. Church matters having been disposed of, a debate on the succession commenced on the 18th of the month. The Lady Catherine Grey,† sister of the unfortunate Lady Jane, and granddaughter of Charles Brandon and the Princess Mary, had the best right in the eyes of most people, and the Catholic party staunchly advocated

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* Both Murray and Maitland, in the hope of gaining Queen Mary's favour, showed great eagerness, from the first, to have her claim recognised. When the news of her husband's death (Dec. 1559) reached Edinburgh, Maitland started off to London to advocate her cause. He partook of Sir Ralph Sadleir's hospitality at Standon, but did not win his support. On the 6th February, 1560, Maitland thus wrote to Cecil:—"I made you some overtures at London how to salve all matters. I wrote to you more amply in it from Sir R. Sadler's house. I would be glad to understand what you think in it, or how the Queen's Majesty can like it, and how it shall be followed. I know the Queen, my Sovereign, is so informed against me, that unless I be able to do her some service I cannot long be suffered to live in her realm."—*MS. letter, State Paper Office.*

Murray about the same time wrote a letter to Elizabeth herself, pressing her "tender cousin's" claim.

† Lady Catherine Grey had recently and secretly married Lord Hertford, son of the late Duke of Somerset. The Queen was greatly incensed, and committed her to the Tower. She died soon afterwards.

the cause of Mary Queen of Scots. Young Lord Darnley, son of the Earl of Lennox and Margaret Douglas, as well as Hastings Lord Huntingdon, had also some pretensions from their Plantagenet descent; but it was Mary Queen of Scots—a Papist and a Frenchwoman—who was most obnoxious to the ministerial party, and when she was proposed Sir Ralph Sadleir broke out in what Froude calls a fierce invective:—"I cannot say" he continued, "who hath the best and most just title to succeed the Queen's Majesty in her imperial crown (God preserve Her Majesty long to enjoy it with much felicity!); but being a more natural Englishman, I do find in myself a great misliking to be subject to a foreign prince—a prince of a strange nation. And for the Queen of Scots, though she were indeed next heir in blood to the Queen's Majesty, yet being a stranger by the laws of the realm, as I understand, she cannot inherit in England; which is a good argument to me that the nature of Englishmen hath always so much detested the regiment (government) of strangers that they have made laws to bar all titles which any stranger may claim of inheritance within the realm." Having thus appealed to the nationality of his compatriots, Sir Ralph excited their pride. He recalled to mind how he had been sent to Scotland by Henry VIII., when the present Queen of Scots was an infant, to move a marriage between her and Prince Edward; how the Scots pretended to like it much, and Commissioners were appointed to arrange matters; how, "after a long treaty, which lasted from Easter to Michaelmas—for the Scots used many delays only to win time—they at last agreed upon the marriage, and the treaty was made and sealed by the Commissioners on both sides, and also ratified both by the King here and also by the Governor of Scotland;" and how this treaty provided that the young Queen should be sent to the English Court when she reached ten years of age, and in the meantime that she should be entrusted to an English gentleman and gentlewoman for her better education of the English manner;* and how, in short, everything was solemnly covenanted; but "when it came to the point that the hostages should repair into England, not one nobleman of Scotland would either come himself or suffer his next heir to lie in England as hostage and pledge for the delivery of the young Queen; so the whole treaty was violated and broken, and no part of it performed on their part. Now, whilst this matter was in treaty, and after it was agreed on, and before it was ratified, I had sundry conferences with divers Scottish men, to understand their affections, and amongst others with Sir Adam Otterburn—a knight reputed to be as wise a man as any in Scotland. He was sundry times ambassador here with Henry VIII. from the last King of Scotland; and with him

* The reader will recollect that Henry VIII. nominated Sir Ralph and Lady Sadleir for this office.

I discoursed of the great benefits like to ensue of that marriage between those two princes, whereby the two realms should be united and conjoined under one regiment. And in our talk, it seemed to me he could not choose, but broke out in these words:—'Why think you,' said he, 'that this treaty will be performed?' 'Why not?' said I. 'I assure you', said he, 'it is not possible, for our people do not like it; and though the Governor and some of the nobility for certain respects have consented to it, I know that few of them do like it, and our common people do utterly mislike it.' I told him again that it was very strange to me to understand their affections to be such, considering the great weal and benefit that must needs ensue of it; the opportunity and occasion thereof being offered, as it were, by God's providence having left unto them a young princess and to us a young prince, by the marriage of whom these two realms, being knit and conjoined in one, the subjects of the same, which have been always infested with wars, might live in wealth and perpetual peace. 'I pray you,' said he, 'give me leave to ask you a question. If your lad were a lass, and our lass a lad, would you then be so earnest in this matter; and would you be content that our lad should marry your lass, and so be King of England?' I answered, considering the great good that might ensue of it, I should not shew myself zealous to my country if I should not consent to it. 'Well,' said he, 'if you had the lass and we the lad we could be well content with it, but I cannot believe that your nation could agree to have a Scot to be King of England; and likewise I assure you,' said he, 'that our nation will never agree to have an Englishman King of Scotland; and though the whole or the nobility of the realm would consent to it, yet our common people and the stones in the street would rise and rebel against it.'

"This was his saying unto me, and others said as much to like effect. And even as they said it followed; for by and by, after the treaty was ratified, the Governor and nobility of Scotland revolted from it, contrary to their oaths, like false forsworn Scots; whereupon the wars ensued whereof they worthily feel the smart at this day. Now, if these proud beggarly Scots did so much disdain to yield to the superiority of England that they chose rather to be perjured, and to abide the extremity of the wars and force of England, than they would consent to have an Englishman to be their King by such lawful means as marriage, why should we in anywise yield to their Scottish superiority, or consent to establish a Scot in succession to the crown of this realm, contrary to the laws of the realm, and thereby do so great an injury as to disinherit the next heir of our own nation? Surely, for my part, I cannot consent to it; and I fear lest I may say with the Scot that though we all do agree to it, yet our common people and the stones in the street would rebel against it."*

* The speech is given at length in the Sadler State Papers, and is well worth reading.

The result of the animated debate was to present a petition to the Queen to name a successor, in which, plainly alluding to Mary Queen of Scots, the Commons took care to mention "the great malice of your *foreign* enemies, which even in your lifetime have sought to transfer the dignity and right of your crown to a *stranger*."*

But nothing came of the petition. Elizabeth persisted in refusing to name a successor, and gave only a half promise about choosing a husband. Her objection to nominate a successor arose from the natural dread that a party desirous of her death would form round the Sovereign to be, and that her life would not be safe. As to taking a husband, she could not, as her father did, follow mere fancy without arousing the resentment of her nobles and her subjects at large.

The English Parliament was dissolved in April of the same year (1563), and in the following May, as it happened, Mary in person opened the Scotch Parliament with unusual pomp, in the Tolbooth of Edinburgh. The Hall was crowded with a glittering throng of courtiers and members costumed with Parisian elegance and richness; for Mary had by this time remodelled her Court after the French fashion, and delighted in its gay surroundings. French levity and intrigue also found their way into Holyrood, and the Queen did not escape scandal.†

The French fashions of the Court and the well-founded fear that Mary wished to marry some rank Papist, drove the Reformers almost rabid, not only against the Queen and her Court, but also against the Lords of the Congregation for tolerating such a state of things. Taking advantage of the parliamentary season, John Knox preached a characteristic sermon before the nobility, from which I take a short extract as a specimen of his trenchant style.

Having generalised on God's mercy to the Commonwealth and the ingratitude of mankind, he brought his remarks more home to the Lords by referring to their recent struggles:—

"I see," said he, suddenly stretching out from the pulpit as if towards a real object, "I see before me the beleaguered camp at St. Johnston; I see your meeting on Couper Moor; I hear the tramp of the horsemen as they charged you in the streets of Edinburgh; and most of all is that dark and dolorous night now present to my eyes in which all of you, my Lords, in shame and fear left this town—and God

* Cecil asserted in the House that Mary was already styled "Queen of England" by her household at Holyrood, and that Philip of Spain encouraged her pretensions.

† A short time before Parliament opened, Chatelar, a Frenchman, who had accompanied her from France, and whom she had treated with encouraging familiarity, twice concealed himself in her bedroom with a felonious intent against her royal person. The matter having become public, Chatelar was executed to save the Queen's credit. Nor was this the only instance in which the fair fame of Mary Stuart's widowhood was tarnished by her indiscreet behaviour with the opposite sex.

forbid I should ever forget it! What was then, I say, my exhortation unto you? and what has fallen in vain of all that God ever promised you by my mouth? Speak, I say, for ye yourselves live to testify!

"There is not one of you against whom death and destruction was threatened who hath perished in that danger; and is this to be the thankfulness ye shall render unto God—to betray His cause, when you have it in your hands to establish it as you please? The Queen says 'ye will not agree with her.' Ask of her that which by God's word ye may justly require; and if she will not agree with you in God, ye are not bound to agree with her faction in the Devil.

"And now, my Lords," he concluded, "to put an end to all, I hear of the Queen's marriage—Dukes,* brethren to Emperors and Kings strive all for the best gain. But this, my Lords, I will say—note the day and bear witness hereafter—whenever the nobility of Scotland, who profess the Lord Jesus, consent that an infidel (and all Papists are infidels) shall be head to our Sovereign, you do as far as in you lieth to banish Christ Jesus from this realm, and to bring God's vengeance on the country."

The Queen, of course, heard of this remarkable sermon, and summoned the preacher before her for daring to meddle with the subject of her marriage. Knox, not a whit abashed, pleaded his spiritual obligations, and, availing himself of the opportunity to wound her religious susceptibilities, left her in tears. Passing out through the ante-rooms, where the fine ladies of the Court regarded him with studied coldness, he paused, and "merrily said":—"Ah, fair ladies! how pleasant were this life of yours if it should ever abide, and then in the end we might pass to heaven in this gear! But fie on that knave, Death, that will come whether ye will or not, and when he has laid on the arrest, then foul worms will be busy with this flesh, be it never so fair and tender; and the silly soul, I fear, shall be so feeble that it can neither carry with it gold, garnishing, targating, pearl, nor precious stones."†

Mary Queen of Scots felt disappointed and annoyed at not being nominated next heir to the English crown, but concealing her displeasure, she wrote to her loving sister Elizabeth expressing submission to her will as regards a husband, and Elizabeth, in reply, offered her the choice of any Englishnobleman; but it soon was understood that Mary would not be named "next heir," unless she married the particular nobleman Elizabeth chose for her. Norfolk, Arundel, and Darnley were Catholics, and any one of the three would have been a

* The Archduke Charles was a suitor for Mary as well as for Elizabeth.

† John Knox was an honest and an earnest man, but it would have been more creditable to the cause he advocated had his tongue been less venomous, and had not his successful preaching produced a host of imitators who had all his bitterness and none of his brains.

suitable match for Mary; but her young and handsome cousin, Henry Stewart, Lord Darnley*—a Scotch nobleman, and of the English blood royal—found most favour in her eyes, and she hoped Elizabeth would propose him to her. "Once married to Darnley," says Froude, "and admitted by Parliament as heir presumptive, her course would be easy. At the bottom of her heart she had determined she would never cease to be Elizabeth's enemy. Never for a moment had she parted with the conviction that the English crown was hers,† and that Elizabeth was a usurper; but without support from abroad she was obliged to trust to her address. Could she win her way to be 'second person,' and were she married with Elizabeth's consent to the favourite of the insurrectionary Catholics, she could show her colours with diminished danger; she could extort concession after concession, make good her ground, inch by inch and yard by yard, and at last, when the favourable moment came, seize her rival by the throat and roll her from her throne into the dust."

But Elizabeth was much too sagacious to play into Mary's hands; and, to every one's surprise, she proposed Lord Robert Dudley!

Whether Elizabeth ever really intended that her favourite should marry her rival, it is difficult to say. She was a consummate dissembler, and may have wished to delude the public into the idea that she herself did not care for Dudley as much as was scandalously reported, or that for policy sake she had made up her mind to get rid of him, so that her royal suitor, "the Archduke Charles, need not be any longer jealous." On the plea, however, of making him a more equal match for Mary Queen of Scots, she created him Earl of Leicester (September 1564)—a title by which he is best known in history.

No one was more astonished at the proposal than Mary herself, and she despatched Sir J. Melville to the English Court to discover, if possible, Elizabeth's real meaning, and at the same time to secretly put the Darnley scheme in motion. Melville, who was an accomplished courtier of the French school, played his cards so well that he led Elizabeth to believe the Earl of Leicester would be most acceptable to Mary, and lulled her suspicions about Darnley, which were aroused by the return of Lennox to Scotland, and the restoration of his estates, which had been confiscated so far back as 1513, when he took Henry VIII.'s side.‡

Elizabeth expatiated to Melville on Leicester's accomplishments and

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* Darnley was son of the Earl of Lennox and Margaret Douglas, daughter of the Dowager Queen Margaret of Scotland, Henry VIII.'s sister.

† Mary was brought up in this idea at the French Court, and her aspirations were strengthened by the Pope's pronouncing Elizabeth illegitimate and declaring herself true heir to the English crown.

‡ Lennox had been ever since that time an exile in England, where his son Darnley was born and bred.

handsome appearance, "but," she said suddenly, to throw him off his guard, "you like better yonder long lad;" and pointed to the soft-featured Darnley, who was, as usual, present at Court. The skilled fencer parried the blow. "No woman of spirit," he replied, "could choose such a one, who more resembled a woman than a man."

In October Melville returned to Scotland bearing a splendid present of jewels from the Countess of Lennox to her intended daughter-in-law, and in a few months afterwards, Elizabeth, relying on Mary's sincerity, granted Darnley permission to visit his father in Scotland.

In the middle of February (1565), Darnley reached the Scotch Court. His personal appearance satisfied his cousin's expectations; and, to make the story short, Mary Queen of Scots and the "long lad" were married on the 29th of the following July, in spite of Elizabeth's angry remonstrances and the determined opposition of John Knox and the Lords of the Congregation.

The marriage strengthened the Catholic cause and Mary's claim to the English throne, and so far Her Majesty of Scotland had the best of the game. Had Darnley—or King Henry, as he is henceforth entitled to be called—been a man of strong mind and sound principles, the marriage might have been attended by the most beneficial results for Mary's happiness and Scotland's welfare; but he had nothing in his favour save his good looks. So far as mental and moral qualifications went, he proved weak, conceited, arrogant, and dissolute—"a young fool and proud tyrant" (he was only nineteen), quite incapable of ruling such a refractory kingdom as Scotland, or of managing such a wife as Mary, who was five years his senior and had been brought up at the most polished and profligate Court in Europe, but who nevertheless possessed a fond heart and a clear head, and who might in the hands of a judicious and appreciative husband, have become an honourable and loving wife. But alas! the consequences were heartrending. Darnley soon forfeited the Queen's affection and respect by gross immorality, while he offended the proud Scotch nobility by his overbearing manner and arrogance.

His influence in the Court and Council soon became *nil:* Mary took anyone into her confidence rather than her legitimate lord and master. She especially patronised David Rizzio—an Italian musician, who acted as her Foreign Secretary—and she also showed marked favour to the unprincipled and bold Earl Bothwell, who joined the Court in August (six weeks after the Queen's marriage).* Her great intimacy, however, with Rizzio gave rise to a most unpleasant suspicion, which, though probably groundless, remained long in men's minds. Even many years afterwards, that inveterate jester, Henry IV. of France, remarked that "James I.'s title to be called 'the modern

* Some consider the date has an important bearing on subsequent events.

Solomon' doubtless arose from the fact that he was the son of David, who played upon the harp."

About this time a league was formed by all the Catholic powers of Europe for the maintenance of the Papacy throughout Christendom and the thorough extirpation of Protestants. Mary Queen of Scots joined the confederation, and at Rizzio's instance prepared to re-establish Popery in Scotland. The Scotch Parliament, upon which Mary depended to carry out the change, was to meet in March (1566).* The Protestant party took alarm, and determined to kill the Queen's evil adviser, Rizzio. Morton, Lindsay, Ruthven, and others entered into the plot, and, trading on Darnley's marital jealousy, easily persuaded him to join them. Surrounding Holyrood Palace with armed men on the evening of the 9th of March, the principal conspirators, led on by Darnley, entered the Queen's boudoir, where she sat in company with four or five lords and ladies and "Signor Davie," who was clothed in "a nightgown of damask furred, with a satin doublet, and hose of russet velvet," and wore his cap in the Queen's presence. Darnley sat down beside his wife, and putting his arm round her waist restrained her, while his accomplices dragged Rizzio into an outer room and stabbed him to death.

This barbarous outrage in the royal palace was at once a cruel murder and an unpardonable insult to the Queen, but she checked her resentment with a determination to be avenged on her husband and his confederates.

The lords who joined in the plot having taken possession of Holyrood, resolved to keep the Queen a prisoner there until they had arranged matters to their satisfaction; but Mary, concealing her anger and pretending to forgive Darnley, persuaded the feeble-minded youth to throw over the lords and connive at her escape. Having stolen out of the Palace one night, Mary and her husband rode to Dunbar, where Bothwell came to her assistance in a few days with two thousand men, at the head of whom Mary marched to Edinburgh. At her approach the confederate lords fled through fear across the Border; their ends, however, were gained, for nothing was done in Parliament against the established religion. Mary, too, having gained her object to a certain extent, treated Darnley with open aversion, and the unhappy simpleton wandered about Court despised and tabooed by all parties.

The scandal about Rizzio and the quarrel with her husband deprived the Queen of Scots of many partisans in England: but she recovered them all and gained several fresh ones when the news arrived of the birth of her son—afterwards James I.—on the 19th of June. "Alas!"

* The majority of the Lords of the Congregation had been banished from Court, for their opposition to Mary Stuart's marriage.

said Elizabeth (still worried about the succession), "She has a fair son, while I am but a barren stock!" "Better worth," says Froude, "to Mary Stuart's ambition was this child than all the legions of Spain and all the money of the Vatican. The cradle in which he lay, to the fevered and anxious glance of English politicians, was as a Pharos, behind which lay the calm waters of an undisturbed succession and the perpetual union of the too-long-divided realms." Norfolk and Bedford declared themselves in favour of Mary's claim, and Leicester (who had more influence with Elizabeth than either of them), warmly advocated her cause.

The hopes of the Catholics and the fears of the Protestants rose simultaneously from the same ground. A political storm was brewing. Nearly four years had elapsed since the English Parliament met. In the meantime, Elizabeth had sent a force into France to aid the persecuted Huguenots, and she had not yet quelled a protracted rebellion in Ireland, nor tamed the proud O'Neill, Chief of Ulster,* while the threatening aspect assumed by the Catholic powers of Europe boded no good to Protestant England. The sinews of war were urgently required, and Elizabeth summoned a new Parliament, which met in October (1566).

"On the 17th Cecil brought forward in the Lower House a statement of the expenses of the French and Irish wars. On the 18th Mr. Molyneux, a barrister, proposed at once, amidst universal approbation, 'to revive the suit for the succession,' and to consider the demands for the exchequer only in connection with the determination of an heir to the throne. Elizabeth's first desire was to stifle the discussion at the commencement. Sir Ralph Sadleir rose when Molyneux sat down, and 'after divers propositions,' 'declared that he heard the Queen say in the presence of the nobility that Her Highness minded to marry.'† Sadleir," continues Froude, "possessed the confidence of the Protestants, and from him, if from anyone, they would have accepted a declaration with which so steady an opponent of the Queen of Scots was satisfied; but the disappointment of the two previous sessions had taught them the meaning of words of this kind. A report of something said elsewhere to 'the nobility' would not meet the present irritation; 'their mind was to continue their suit, and to know Her Highness's answer.' Elizabeth found it necessary to be more specific. The next day, first Cecil, then Sir Francis Knollys, then Sir Ambrose Cave, declared formally that 'the Queen, by God's special providence, was moved to marry;' but they were not more successful than Sadleir." Both Houses sub-

* Sir Henry Sidney (father of the still more celebrated Sir Philip), was at this time Lord Deputy of Ireland.

† Commons' Journals, 8 Eliz.

sequently petitioned the Queen on the subject, but Elizabeth gave them no satisfaction, and much discontent ensued. Cecil's incomparable tact poured oil on the troubled waters, and Parliament was again dissolved without anything definite being settled with regard to the succession.

Sir Ralph Sadleir has left us a copy of the speech he made—the "divers propositions," as the Commons' journalist calls it—at the beginning of the debate on the succession, from which I give a few extracts:—

"Surely in my poor opinion there never was greater cause why we should grant a subsidy, and the necessity of the time did never more require it; for we see that the whole world, our neighbours round about us, of long time have been and yet be in arms, in hostility, and in great garboil. Only we rest here in peace and quietness (thanks be to God therefore, and the good government of the Queen's Majesty!) Marry, it is a point of wisdom in time of peace to prepare for war. When we see our neighbour's house on fire,* it is wisdom to provide and foresee how to keep the smoke and the sparks of the same as far from our own as we can. The principal and chief cause of this hostility and garboil abroad is for the matter and cause of religion. The malice of the enemies and adversaries of God's Gospel doth increase, and waxeth very hot. In France, the great tyranny, the horrible and cruel murders and slaughter which have been committed there, doth plainly show the deadly hatred of the Papists against the professors of God's Gospel. We hear daily of secret conspiracies and confederacies between the Pope, the French King, and other popish princes against all Protestants; and it is not to be doubted that as soon as they can settle and establish the Romish religion within their own territories, they will forthwith employ all their forces to restore the same in England, and may be sure to find great aid from our Papists here at home."

Having then referred to the disturbed state of Ireland, Sir Ralph touched on the succession:—

"I cannot but much commend the zealous and good mind of him that had brought it here in question, and for my own part I desire from the bottom of my heart that some good success and effect might follow it; and yet I am not of opinion that it is fit for us to deal with it at this time—specially not to mix it with the matter of the subsidy, whereby we might seem, as it were, to condition and covenant with Her Majesty that if she will grant us the one we will grant her the other. Therefore my advice should be to grant the subsidy simply; and concerning the succession, [illegible] to pray to God, in whose hands the hearts of princes are, to dispose the mind and will of Her Majesty so to consider and deal in it, and in such [illegible]

* No doubt Sir Ralph knew the origin of Latimer's well-known phrase, but it is hardly to be supposed that he intended to translate it into the vulgar tongue.

due time, as may be not only for her own surety, but also for the surety and quietness of her realm and subjects.

"This is my poor advice; and if all men here knew as much as I do, I think they would the sooner and the more easily be persuaded to be of mine opinion."*

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* Sadler State Papers, Vol. II., pp. 549–52. Sir Walter Scott says this speech was delivered in the first Parliament of Queen Elizabeth's, but the allusions to the state of Ireland, the popish confederacy, the cruel murders in France (the massacre at Vassy, for example), coupled with Molyneux's motion, all indicate that it was made on this occasion.

CHAPTER XIX.

THE QUEEN OF SCOTS DEPOSED, AND A REFUGEE IN ENGLAND.

(1567-8.)

On the 2nd of January (1567) the English parliamentary session closed, and though Mary Queen of Scots had not been pronounced next heir to the throne, her cause had flourished in England, and her party had increased in numbers and influence. But her popularity was only short-lived. In the following month an event occurred in Scotland which, even in that turbulent age, shocked all Christendom, and lowered Mary to zero in public estimation.

This was the murder of her husband, Darnley, by her favourite, Bothwell, and his accomplices. Mary herself was believed to be accessory to the crime. Chivalrous writers have from time to time broken a literary lance in defence of her innocence, but the majority of unbiassed historians pronounce her guilty. At all events, the following stubborn facts cannot be denied:—

The birth of the royal infant proved no pledge of affection between Mary and her husband. On the contrary, Darnley was more discarded than before, and Bothwell* was treated with increased favour. On the 27th of July, when the Queen had only just recovered her strength, Bedford, who was at Berwick, informed Cecil that "Bothwell has all the countenance of the Court." Soon afterwards Mary appointed Bothwell Lord High Admiral, Warden of the *three* Marches, and Governor of Dunbar—a plurality of high posts which made him the most powerful man in Scotland. In October the Queen proceeded with some nobles and judges to Jedburgh, to hold a court of justice. About the same time Bothwell had been wounded in the hand, in a fray, and kept to his castle at Hermitage, twenty miles distant. The wound was not at all dangerous, but Mary took such an interest in the invalid that she rode to Hermitage and back in one day to pay him a visit.

Nothing, it is reasonably argued, but the infatuation of love could have induced the Queen to pay such marked condescension to one of her subjects, and undergo a ride of forty miles over a rugged bridle

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* Bothwell was at this time about thirty-five, and more remarkable for energy than good looks.

path in chill October. Accustomed to horseback though she was, the Leanderlike feat threw her into a fever, from which the skill of her French physician, Nau, had difficulty in restoring her to health.

When Mary had recovered sufficiently to travel, she went to Craig-Millar Castle, near Edinburgh, where she resided for some time. When there she discussed with Bothwell, Maitland of Lethington, and others the advisability of divorcing Darnley. It was, however, objected that such a divorce might render her infant son illegitimate. A darker remedy was then suggested, but the Queen said, "I will that ye do nothing whereto any spot may be laid to my honour or conscience." "Madam," said Lethington, "let us guide the matter amongst us, and your grace shall see nothing but good and approved by Parliament." Mary, therefore, knew some design against Darnley was meditated, and if she wanted to further it she could not have acted more efficiently to that end, as we shall see.

In December the young Prince was christened at Stirling. Darnley, though residing there at the time, was conspicuous by his absence from the ceremony, whilst Bothwell—*toujours* Bothwell—did the honours of the occasion. Soon afterwards Darnley fell suddenly ill. The Court physicians pronounced his malady small pox, but subsequent events caused a strong suspicion of poison. He was removed to his father's residence at Glasgow, where he became convalescent. Seeing he was likely to recover, the conspirators resolved to kill him.

On the 22nd of January (1567) Mary paid him a visit, treated him with a great show of affection, and making him promise to come to Craig-Millar Castle as soon as he should be strong enough, she returned to Holyrood after a few days. On the 31st Darnley followed her, but when he arrived at Edinburgh he was not conducted to Craig-Miller or Holyrood, but to a small isolated house at Kirk o' Field, just outside Edinburgh. The house mainly consisted of two rooms, one over the other. The upper one was fitted up as a bedroom for Darnley, and the lower one for the Queen; and Mary did actually sleep there two or three nights during the ensuing week.

On Sunday, the 9th of February, a marriage took place at Holyrood between two of Mary's French servants, and she was present at the ceremony. At ten o'clock that night she went to Kirk o' Field, and spoke pleasantly to Darnley for some time; but suddenly, as it were, she recollected she had promised to attend the masked ball which formed part of the marriage festivity, and returned to Holyrood. While the Queen was engaging Darnley in conversation, Bothwell caused two trunks full of gunpowder to be conveyed to the lower room of the house—that is, the room which the Queen would have occupied had she remained to sleep. In the dead of night a terrible explosion woke up Edinburgh from its slumbers, and when morning dawned the

citizens learned that the house at Kirk o' Field had been blown to pieces, and that Darnley and his attendant were dead.*

Mary exhibited no sorrow, but public opinion at Edinburgh revolted against the King's murder, and demanded justice against Bothwell and the others, whose names were openly placarded up in the streets as the murderers. The Earl of Lennox, Darnley's father, made a formal charge against Bothwell, and pressed for his trial. The application was granted, the trial took place, but Edinburgh swarmed with Bothwell's armed retainers, and Lennox being afraid of his life to enter the town, Bothwell was acquitted of the crime through want of evidence, no one being found daring enough to prosecute the powerful Earl.

On the 21st of April, as Mary rode back from Stirling, whither she had gone to see her child, Bothwell, with a strong body of horsemen, took possession of her and carried her off to Dunbar Castle, where he detained her for five days. Three weeks after that (15th May) Mary and Bothwell were formally married, but on the 7th of June sudden danger startled the newly-wedded couple, and they fled from Holyrood, first to Borthwick Castle, and finally to Dunbar.

Morton, Hume, Kircaldy of Grange, and certain other noblemen, fearing the ascendancy of such an unscrupulous man as Bothwell—or Duke of Orkney, as he now was—confederated against him, and with a view of taking him unawares and driving him from the kingdom, had secretly collected their followers. Some intimation of the plot somehow reached the Queen and Duke, and hence their sudden flight. As soon as they reached Dunbar they lost no time in collecting a force of four thousand men, and marched back to Edinburgh, hoping to crush the confederate lords before they could collect greater strength. But the lords had already a force somewhat weaker in numbers but infinitely superior in equipment and discipline, and marched to meet their opponents. The two little armies met on the historic field of Pinkie, on the 15th of June—the last day of Mary's honeymoon!—and drew up facing each other, the royalist force being in possession of some entrenchments which Sir Richard Leigh had thrown up before the battle of Pinkie.

Several hours were occupied in attempts to come to terms mutually satisfactory, but in the meantime frequent desertions took place from the Queen's force, and she was at last obliged to accept the conditions imposed by the lords. She accordingly delivered herself into their hands on their promising to serve her faithfully, while Bothwell was allowed to ride away unmolested from the field. The remainder of the

* Their lifeless bodies were found in the adjoining garden without any mark of fire or powder. It is currently believed they discovered the plot at the last moment, and attempted to escape, but were strangled.

bridegroom's story is soon told. Having escaped from his hostile countrymen, he became a pirate in the Northern seas, was captured and taken prisoner to Denmark, where he died ten years afterwards.

The unhappy bride, having bid her husband a loving farewell, and surrendered to the nobles, soon broke out into a passion, and vowed she "would have all their heads." They conducted her to Edinburgh, where the mob received her with hootings and most opprobrious epithets, parading cartoons representing Darnley's murder before her eyes. The confederate lords apprehending danger from the restoration of such a vindictive and unpopular personage to supreme power, conveyed her by night to an isolated castle in Lake, or Loch, Leven, Kinross, where she was detained as prisoner, whilst her infant son was proclaimed King, with the title of James VI., under the regency of Murray.

Such, in short, are the leading *facts* on which hang the guilt or innocence of the unfortunate Queen of Scots respecting her husband's death, and her own voluntary abduction by Bothwell.

A piece of additional evidence was put forward which, if true, would not leave the slightest doubt of her guilt on any one's mind. Three days after her surrender to the lords, Bothwell, who still loitered about Dunbar, sent a trusty messenger to Edinburgh Castle for a casket he had left there. The messenger was intercepted on his return, and the casket was found to contain certain love letters written by Mary to Bothwell from Glasgow,* when she was on a visit to Darnley previous to his murder. I shall refer again to these letters; suffice it now to say that at the time they were stated to be discovered the Scotch lords informed the English Government that they possessed decisive documentary evidence of Queen Mary's guilt, and it is difficult to conclude that they would have taken the pains to forge a set of female love letters and sonnets at such a stirring crisis, when the sword was more serviceable than the pen.

The political situation in Scotland perplexed the French and English Cabinets. Honour prompted the French to interfere in Mary's behalf; but that country was divided against itself, and it would be imprudent to take a step which might entail a war with England.

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* In the "Fifth Report of the Royal Commissioners on Historical MSS., 1876," will be found a copy (from Sir A. Malet's collection) of the declaration made by the Earl of Morton, on the 29th of December, 1568, before the Commissioners sitting at Westminster, as to the way in which the "silver box, over-gilt, containing dyvers missive writings, sonetts, contracts, and obligations for marriage between the Queen of Scots and Bothwell was found and usit. George Dalgleish (Bothwell's servant) was taken to the Tolbooth and threatened with torture. In fear, he calls for the Earl's cousin, Mr. Robert Douglas, who coming, he went forth to the potter raw, and from under the seit (side) of the bed took forth a silver box which he had brought from the castle the day before. The Earl (Morton) opened it on the 21st of June, and he and others examined the contents, letters, sonetts, &c., and kept them unchanged."

All the members of the English Council—Cecil, Sadleir, Bedford, Bacon, and Knollys—who favoured the Reformation thought the Queen of Scots had richly merited deposition and imprisonment. The Catholic party, on the other hand, whose cause fell with her, would fain free the prisoner and set her on her throne again.

Elizabeth, upholding "the divine right of kings," took the part of her sister Queen. She admitted that Mary's "fame and honour had been in all parts of Christendom impaired and decayed" by her "shocking doings," but "she could not suffer her, being by God's ordinance a Princess and Sovereign, to be in subjection to those who by nature and law were subject to her." And accordingly Sir Nicholas Trogmorton, who had been all through a strong advocate of Mary's claim to the succession, was despatched in July to Scotland for the purpose of restoring its crown to Mary Stuart. The ambassador soon perceived the hopelessness of the task. The whole nation ignored the "divine right," and opposed the restitution of the Queen; and Trogmorton was compelled to inform Elizabeth that "it is a public speech amongst all the people, and amongst all the estates, saving the Councillors, that their Queen hath no more liberty or privilege to commit murder nor adultery than any other private person, either by God's law or the laws of the realm." In short, the stout Lords of the Congregation did not care for the Queen of England's threatening interference, and Trogmorton returned home leaving Mary Stuart still a close prisoner in Loch Leven Castle, and no longer Queen of Scots.

At the end of ten months (3rd of May, 1568) Mary effected her escape from Loch Leven,* and, accompanied by a chosen few who were in her confidence, reached Linlithgow (twenty miles distant), where her followers increased. She then proceeded to Hamilton. The news of her escape spread like the fiery cross, and many of her old adherents, as well as those who were jealous of, or dissatisfied with, Murray's administration, gathered round her, and in a week her force amounted to about 6,000 men. The Regent, Murray, happened to be in Glasgow, and with characteristic ability took steps to provide against the rising storm. Mary's party, deeming Hamilton Palace not strong enough to resist attack, determined on going to Dumbarton Castle, which, besides being strongly fortified, was open to the sea. On the 13th of May they set out, hoping to overcome any force that Murray could then bring against them.† But in this they were disappointed. The force at Murray's command was no doubt inferior in numbers, but with Kircaldy's aid he posted his men very skilfully in the village and on

* She was aided in her escape by the young Lairds of Lochleven, George Douglas, with whom she had formed a romantic friendship.

† The road to Dumbarton skirted the town of Glasgow.

the heights of Langside (two miles from Glasgow), and attacking the Queen's forces as they passed, utterly routed them. Mary herself, with a few devoted adherents, galloped frantically from the field and rode towards the English frontier. Three days afterwards she reached the Solway, and crossing it in an open boat she took refuge in Carlisle Castle, and wrote post haste to Queen Elizabeth, claiming protection and beseeching an interview. Elizabeth, in reply, sent Sir Francis Knollys to inform the fugitive Queen that, though desirous of affection and good will towards her, she could not admit her to court until she had proved herself innocent of her husband's murder.

In fact, Elizabeth and her Council did not know how to treat Mary Queen of Scots under present circumstances. She was still the hope of the Catholic party, and they feared to introduce "a princess so young, so lovely, and so interesting" at Court. When Knollys arrived at Carlisle, he found that Mary had already been giving levees to the Catholic gentry of the Northern Counties, and that many of them had been basking in her fascinating smiles. It became a question sharply debated in Council whether her crown should not be restored to her. To this last proposition Sir Ralph Sadleir (who had lately been appointed to the high and lucrative post of Chancellor to the Duchy of Lancaster*) gave his decided opposition in a manner upon which Dr. Nares, the learned author of Lord Burleigh's life, thus remarks :—

"The speech made by Sir Ralph Sadler before the Queen in Council upon

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* Lancaster was made a Duchy Royal or Palatine for John of Gaunt, who consequently possessed all the revenues of the Duchy lands in Lancashire and other parts of the kingdom, and had his own courts of law. After some time the revenues fell into the hands of the Sovereign by right of inheritance, but its courts of law still continued, and in Sir Ralph's time afforded rich fees to their Chancellor—who was then, as now, regarded in virtue of that office, a high officer of the State. It conferred many privileges; amongst the rest, an official residence—the Duchy House, in the Savoy—in London, and the right of nominating a member of Parliament for the town of Leicester, which Sadleir exercised in 1581. Sir Ralph received the appointment (vacant by the death of Sir Ambrose Cave) on May the 10th, 1568, which is the date of a letter to him from Sir Walter Mildmay, stating that "the Earl of Leicester has informed me that the Queen has nominated you to the office of the Chancellor of the Duchy." In a letter to Sir Ralph, written in the previous March, Cecil says, "The Queen does not dislike you for being recommended for the Chancellorship of the Duchy. She sometimes says you like to live at home." Again, Sir Ralph, writing to Cecil from Standon on the 1st of August, 1570, says, "I have no great desire to be a courtier, but prefer to live quietly at home." (MSS. in State Paper Department of Record Office.) From this it would appear that Cecil had been recommending Sadleir to come to Court more frequently, with a view to still higher promotion, but the veteran statesman was in this respect like his contemporary, Lord Willoughby, who was accustomed to say—and it did him no good—that "he was not one of the *reptiles*," and did not relish the company of Queen Elizabeth's favourite sycophants; and, perhaps, this explains why he died Sir Ralph Sadleir instead of Lord Standon. He was, however, a regular attendant at the Council Board.

this great emergency, has some expressions in it so strong, and, if well-founded in all particulars, so much to the purpose, that we cannot forbear transcribing them. The editor* of his Papers, Speeches, &c., says of the speech itself, indeed, 'Sir Ralph Sadler, like Cecil, and other Counsellors of Elizabeth, delivers an opinion more reconcileable to policy than to generosity, good faith, or magnanimity.' We grant this; but the question still remains, whether, if Elizabeth, or her Counsellors, overlooking or disregarding the policy of the case, had resolved to act with the heedless generosity and magnanimity some writers so loudly insist upon, this kingdom would have derived the smallest security from the generosity, good faith, or magnanimity of the other States of Europe, having Mary of Scotland in their power?

"There is nothing in the history of the sixteenth century that could lead us to think so; on the contrary, we believe every advantage possible would have been taken of the imbecility or supineness of Elizabeth's Ministers, had they advised the Queen to act only on the principle of generosity. We verily believe she would have been generous only to her own ruin. But we must advert to the passages in Sir Ralph Sadler's speech, which tend to shew the dangerous position in which Elizabeth was placed at this critical moment. He professes to have come to the resolution, after much consideration, that it could not be good, but rather most dangerous to Elizabeth that Mary should reign and govern in Scotland; and he therefore thinks it quite expedient that she should accept and allow of the regiment established in the young King of Scots—not to question his title, but to take him for a King as she finds him. He instances the case of the Emperor Charles V., and the French King, both of whom professed themselves ready to acknowledge the Lady Jane Grey, on the death of Edward VI.; though the former must have wished to see the Princess Mary—his near relative—on the throne of her ancestors, having a clear title by the laws of England; and the latter could only be seeking his own security at the expense of that Princess and her Austrian connections.

"'I have many times,' says this sagacious and experienced statesman, 'thought of this matter, and I have considered, so far forth as my poor wit can conceive, of the state and terms which your Majesty standeth in at this present with all princes abroad, specially with these which be your vicines and neighbours—as with the King of Spain and the French King, and also with the Queen of Scots and Scotland; and having entered into the consideration of the same, I find the King of Spain and the French King to be but feigned friends to your Majesty, such as do but expect the time when they may shew themselves open enemies; as if they may prevail in the establishment of their Romish religion within their own dominions, who seeth not that then they will bend all their forces to establish the like in England? And if they may then find a Queen in Scotland that pretendeth a title to the crown of England, who seeth not that she will be a ready and apt instrument to serve both theirs and also her own turn, when she may have aid thereunto both by the Pope, the King of Spain, the French King, and also by the favour of your evil subjects here at home, the

* Nares must mean Sir Walter Scott, who wrote the historical notes to Clifford's edition of the Sadler Papers.

Papists, which to set up their Popish kingdom would not care to have* a murderess and an adulteress† to reign over them? Marry, I trust your Majesty will so provide that they shall find no such Queen in Scotland.

"'But to return where I was, I find, as I said, the King of Spain and the French King to be but faint and feigned friends, which only abide the time to declare themselves open enemies. The Queen of Scots, also, I find to be a secret deadly enemy to your Majesty, lacking only power and liberty to execute and shew her malice openly; and, for Scotland, I find it is divided in two parts and factions, whereof one is addicted to the young King of Scotland, minding to maintain his State and Government, and to continue the religion in Scotland; and they which do shew themselves to be of that party, do offer themselves to adhere to your Highness, and to depend wholly at your devotion. The other party and faction do shew themselves addicted to the Queen of Scots, seeming to have an intention and desire to have her restored to her former State and Government in Scotland; but rather, I think, they mean under that colour to advance the House of the Hamiltons, there having always been a mortal enmity between the two houses, the Stewarts and the Hamiltons, and they which be of this party depend altogether upon France; and with them your rebels also do join themselves, hoping, with such aid as they look for out of France and Flanders, to be able to trouble your State, as well by procurement of a new stir and rebellion within the realm, as by invasions and incursions upon your frontiers, and otherwise; wherein they lack no good will to offend and annoy your Majesty by all the ways and means they can. Thus I find that your Majesty hath many enemies.'

"This able statesman then proceeds to consider the means in her Majesty's hands of thwarting the purposes of these many enemies, considering them regularly one after the other, and suggesting such schemes of policy as were common in those days, and scarcely to be avoided; or rather, indeed, not to be avoided, but at the positive risk of having similar practices adopted with success against the unresisting and more scrupulous party. Policy, indeed, bears a bad name when it is introduced to overrule moral obligations, or violate any of the pure, perfect, and unoffending principles of Christianity; but State policy is, on many occasions, rather to be viewed as an extremity to which a nation is brought by the necessity of defending itself against the hostile, not only attacks, but designs of other States; for to await the attacks, is but to afford time for the forming more powerful confederacies, and more extended hostile alliances.

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* *i.e.*, in modern parlance, "would not mind having."

† "These words so openly and unreservedly proclaim Mary's imputed guilt, that it is impossible not to look to the character of the person who uttered them, as well as to the place in which, and the audience before whom, they were spoken. It was, then, in the presence of Queen Elizabeth, and before her Council, that Sir Ralph uttered these opprobrious terms against a personage whom he had known from her infancy. He was a courtier certainly, but no false one, as far as we can learn; he was a brave soldier, as every one knows, and not likely, therefore, even in those sad times, to degrade himself so far as to descend to the low acts of calumny in speaking of such an accomplished woman as Mary Queen of Scots; nor was he a man much likely to be deceived, especially as to the affairs of Scotland."

"The policy recommended by Sir Ralph Sadler is, certainly, that disturbing policy which gives so great offence to certain historians of the times of which we are writing, but which, to those who look very narrowly into the exact circumstances of those times, must appear, we should think, the only policy capable of securing the crown on the head of Elizabeth, her kingdom in any tolerable degree of peace and quietness, or her Protestant subjects in the enjoyment of that religious liberty so lately bestowed upon them. But to proceed. The sum of Sir Ralph's advice, in regard to foreign enemies, is couched in the following applicable terms:—

"'If they have any intention to offend or annoy your Majesty, they have no way so fit nor so proper for them to do it as by the way of Scotland. Keep them out of Scotland, that they set no foot there, and your Majesty shall the less need to care for any offence or annoyance they can do to your Majesty elsewhere; for, your navy being on the sea, they shall not be able to land anywhere in England, to do any great harm. And therefore your Majesty hath specially to foresee and provide that they get no foot nor entry into Scotland; and the way thereto—the best way to meet with the same—is for your Majesty to enter first, to set foot first in Scotland, and there to join with that party which do offer themselves to your Highness for the maintenance of the State and Government of the young King of Scots, and for continuance of the religion in Scotland.'"

The above speech of Sir Ralph, interspersed with Dr. Nares' comments, explains very clearly the political relations of England, not only with Scotland but with the whole of Europe, at this eventful crisis.

It became, however, necessary to come to some decision respecting Mary Stuart, who told Knollys that if Elizabeth did not succour her she "would seek aid from the French King and the King of Spain;" while Murray and his party pressed the English Government to take the part of the young King.

At length it was agreed to investigate the cause of the quarrel between the Queen of Scots and her subjects, and that Commissioners representing all three parties should be appointed for the purpose. It was further arranged that the conference should take place at York, in the first week in October.

Meantime, Mary was removed from Carlisle to Bolton Castle, in Yorkshire, under the pretence (which did not deceive her) that she would be safer there from "sudden invasion of her enemies;" but really through fear lest she should escape back again to her partisans across the Border, and create fresh troubles; for at Carlisle she used to ride out "a hunting the hare, and gallop so fast on every occasion with her whole retinue, that some of her friends out of Scotland might on a sudden rescue her."

Queen Mary's Commissioners were Leslie, Bishop of Ross, Herries, Boyd, and Cockburn. Those for the Lords were the Regent, Morton, Lindsay, and George Buchanan.

"The English Commissioners," writes Froude, "were the Earl of Sussex, Sir Ralph Sadleir, and the Duke of Norfolk—representing the three parties in the Council. Sussex was President of the Council of the North—a solid, English, Conservative nobleman, neither particularly able nor particularly high-principled, but moderate, tolerant, and anxious above all things to settle difficult questions without quarrels or bloodshed. Sadleir, the old servant of Henry VIII., was a Protestant, and almost a Puritan. He had been trained for thirty years in northern diplomacy, and had held Mary Stuart in his arms when she was a baby. Norfolk, the premier peer of England, was a Catholic in politics, though he professed himself an Anglican. He and Arundel, his father-in-law, were the leaders of the great party most opposed to Cecil and the Reformers, of the old aristocracy, who hated revolution, favoured the Spanish alliance, the Scotch succession, and as much Catholicism as was compatible with independence of the Roman See.

"By one of the three Commissioners the office was undertaken most reluctantly. Sadleir, a man of most clear convictions and most high purpose, would have borne a part gladly in any duty in which his conscience was to be his guide; he had little inclination to enter a slippery labyrinth, where he was to take his direction from the undefined, contradictory, and probably impracticable intentions of Elizabeth. He asked Cecil to select someone wiser and more learned than he. Questions would arise of 'Who was a tyrant?' 'Who might depose a tyrant?' 'It was a matter which touched not Scotland and England only,' but all kingdoms; and for himself, 'he had liefer serve her Majesty where he might adventure his life for her than among subjects so difficult as these.'"*

Norfolk was selected, not only on account of his high rank, but because he had always advocated Mary Queen of Scots' claim to the succession, and Elizabeth wished that at least one of her Commissioners should be favourably inclined towards Mary. She did not know that the old Conservative nobility were at the very time planning a marriage between the Queen of Scotland and the premier peer of England, as the best means of securing an undisputed succession, and bringing things to the old *régime*. Norfolk, with hereditary ambition, lent himself to the scheme, satisfied to sacrifice connubial purity to political ascendancy; and if he had any scruples about taking Mary Stuart as the wife of his bosom, they were readily dispelled by the beauty of her person and the glamour of her manner. On the 18th of September—that is, soon after the Commission was nominated—Norfolk, as was afterwards proved, secretly repaired to Bolton Castle, and had a private conference of his own with the Queen of Scots. After this, Mary told her confidential Counsellor, Leslie, Bishop of Ross,

* Sadleir to Cecil, August 29. MSS., Queen of Scots.

that she trusted he "would find the judges favourable, principally the Duke of Norfolk, who was first in commission, and doubted not that the Earl of Sussex would be ruled by him as his tender friend, and Sir Ralph Sadleir would not gainstand their advice." She also hinted at "the bruit which was spread abroad of a marriage betwixt the Duke and her."

On the 3rd of October the three sets of Commissioners, with their retinues, had all arrived in York, which city was consequently in a high state of excitement, and had been strongly garrisoned to prevent a conflict between such opposing elements.

The conference commenced by Mary's Commissioners accusing Murray and his companions of rebellion. The latter pleaded justification, but before proceeding asked the English Commissioners whether the Queen of England would maintain the authority of the young King if his mother should be proved guilty of the charges preferred against her, and also what would be done with the Queen of Scots herself.

These important questions had to be referred to London. Meantime Murray shewed the celebrated casket letters privately to the English Commissioners, which, if genuine, convicted Mary of adultery and murder out of her own mouth.*

The Scotch Lords were ready to swear that the letters were in Mary's own handwriting, and Norfolk, Sussex, and Sadleir, in their report to Elizabeth, said they believed them genuine, "as it was hard to counterfeit so many and so long letters,"† of which they enclosed extracts. The extracts were probably made by Sir Ralph, as in the Sadler State Papers extracts are given of the documents in question which lead logically to the conclusion that Mary was guilty of Darnley's murder, the premisses being the special words shewing "the inordinate and filthy love between her and Bothwell," and secondly, "her loathsomeness and abhorring of her husband that was murdered."

But while Elizabeth and her Council deliberated on the answer to the Scotch Commissioners, some counter wind of treachery blew to Court a rumour of the marriage which was projected between Norfolk and the Queen of Scots. Whereupon Elizabeth at once cancelled the York Commission, ordered Sadleir to return to Court directly, "to advertise her of their proceedings," and summoned all the witnesses to London, so that the matter might be heard in her own presence.

On the 24th of November her Majesty issued a new Commission to the Duke of Norolk, Bacon (the Lord Chancellor), the Earls of Arundel and Leicester, Lord Clinton, Cecil, and Sadleir, to investigate the case

* Next [illegible] Mary's Commissioners pressed Murray not to publicly bring forward such dr[illegible] [illegible]s against a princess who might one day be Queen of the united kingdoms of England and Scotland.

† The Commissioners at York to Elizabeth, October 11.

afresh. In the course of the proceedings, which took place at Hampton Court, Murray produced the casket, and the letters and sonnets were read. Mary's Commissioners at once pronounced them forgeries; but "the manner of writing and fashion of orthography" being carefully compared with other letters written by the Queen of Scots, pointed to an opposite conclusion. Cecil, Sadleir, Leicester, and Bacon expressed their conviction that the documents were genuine; and finally all the English Commissioners, including the remainder of the peers who had meanwhile been added to the Commission, declared the case was so suspicious against the Queen of Scots she ought not to be admitted into her Majesty's presence.

Charges and counter-charges between the Regent's and Mary's Commissioners took place, and at length the conference broke up in the following January (1569) without coming to any definite conclusion; "nothing being found against Murray and his adherents to impair their loyalty or allegiance, and nothing, on the other hand, being proved against the Queen of Scots whereby her loving sister can conceive evil of her." But inasmuch as Mary Stuart continued a prisoner, and Murray remained Regent, we may conclude the latter had really the best of the inquiry.

CHAPTER XX.

THE RISING IN THE NORTH.

(1569.)

Mary Stuart and her friends were not likely to rest satisfied with the result of the conference. Queen Elizabeth having failed to succour her, Mary kept her word and applied to France and Spain for help. These powers had mastered their internal troubles, and could now afford to carry on war outside their respective dominions. The Huguenots in France were almost crushed, and the Duke of Alva (Philip's Commander-in-Chief) had Flanders in perfect subjection. Already there was a kind of ocean war between Spain and England. Two years previously Sir John Hawkins started in command of an expedition to the West Indies, and partly by trading with the planters, partly by plundering Spanish vessels and stores, he amassed in gold and silver and precious stones property worth a million of money; but in the end (December 1568) he was overtaken by the Spanish fleet. A desperate fight ensued. Hawkins lost all his treasure and most of his men, and he and his companion Drake arrived home in England with little more than life and liberty. Those of their comrades who fell into the hands of the Spaniards were punished as buccaneers. Soon after this, the Duke of Alva sent vessels laden with money—the confiscated hoards of heretic traders—from Antwerp, bound for Spain. English cruisers attacked them in the Channel, and the Spanish money found its way into Elizabeth's treasury. The Spaniards retaliated, and seized English vessels. 'Twas impossible to throw the blame of these depredations altogether on the sea rovers, and war between Spain and England seemed imminent. France, too, was dissatisfied with the injuries inflicted by English freebooters on her trade, as well as irritated by the assistance Elizabeth had given the Huguenots. At this crisis Mary Queen of Scots appealed for aid to Philip and Catherine de Medici. But the proverbial personal animosity which Catherine bore to her daughter-in-law prevented an open rupture between France and England in Mary's behalf; Philip, however, only waited for a favourable opportunity to send an army from Flanders into England, and hurl the heretic Queen from the throne.

The opportunity occurred in the Catholic reaction which now pervaded England. Uncertainty about the succession, jealousy of

Protestant ascendancy, as well as of the "new men" who virtually ruled the kingdom, combined to make the old nobility join with the Ultramontane party in a desire to restore the Government to the aristocracy and the Church to the Papists.

Cecil was the chief stumbling-block in the way. He was to Elizabeth what Cromwell had been to her father—the supple agent, the sagacious adviser, and the skilful fugleman of the Council, who knew when to thrust and when to parry with the sword of State. His removal was a consummation devoutly wished by the Spanish ambassador and the leaders of the opposition. Early in the year assassination was proposed, but it gave way to the safer and more constitutional trial on the capital charge of high treason, which it was thought could be sustained and effected against him, if brought forward during one of those conjunctions in which, while in a bad odour with his *confréres*, he laboured under one of the Queen's fits of displeasure. And on more than one occasion did his opponents in the Council expect to see the Duke of Norfolk openly arrest Cecil in the Council Chamber, as his grandfather had arrested the Earl of Essex; but the wary Secretary rallied his party around him, and left his enemies no opening to attack.*

The north of England still constituted the most Catholic portion of the kingdom. Percy Earl of Northumberland,† and Neville Earl of Westmoreland (Norfolk's brother-in-law) represented the two families best known and most honoured north of the Humber. The spirit of feudalism still pervaded districts remote from Court; the Percies and Nevilles were the acknowledged chieftains of the North Country, and their vassals would flock round their standards when summoned. For a similar reason, the Duke of Norfolk could reckon on the support of the Eastern Counties, in which his family was known, and where he possessed extensive estates. A rebellious combination between these three powerful noblemen alone would be dangerous to the State, without considering the Queen of Scots, the King of Spain, and several others who were prepared to join them.

Were the Catholic Queen of Scots married to a Conservative peer of England and placed upon Elizabeth's throne, the malcontents at

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* A curious anonymous MS. in the Marquis of Bath's collection at Longleat refers apparently to this crisis. It talks of "his Excellency" (the Spanish ambassador, probably). The pseudonyms of the "Council" of the writer's party are given for use in subsequent correspondence. The bear is Queen Elizabeth, the ox Cecil, the Protestant Sow is Mary, the viper Leicester, the old Bear [illegible], the Ape [illegible], and the "Asses" (whose real names are not given, but whom, from their [illegible] Mary Stuart and Scotland) are referred to. A suggestive "Table of Contents" is given:—"If the fox were in the grave, the bear could not [illegible]."—*Thirteenth Report of the Royal Commission on Historical Manuscripts*, p. 187.

† This was the very Earl in whom Sadleir refused to confide ten years previously.

home, as well as the papal powers abroad, would be satisfied. Accordingly, in the spring of 1569, we find Norfolk, Arundel, and others of the English nobility plotting and scheming with Don Guerau (the Spanish ambassador), Ridolfi (ostensibly a Florentine banker, but really the Pope's agent in London), and Leslie, Bishop of Ross (Mary Stuart's confidential Counsellor). A general rebellion at home, aided by money from Rome and soldiers from Flanders, was the means they contemplated. Their end was to marry Norfolk to Mary Stuart, and place her on the united throne of England and Scotland. The immediate advisers of Elizabeth—Cecil, Sadleir, Bacon, Mildmay—were much too sagacious and intelligent not to perceive that there was considerable danger afloat, though they could not fathom the depths of treason which underlay the rumoured marriage of Queen Mary with His Grace of Norfolk. By autumn everything was ready for an insurrection, but Norfolk shrunk from taking the initiative, although pressed to do so by his friends. In September he went to his paternal home in Norfolk, uncertain how to act. While there, his contemplated marriage with Mary Stuart assumed its proper treasonable colour. He was ordered back to Court, and on the 8th of October found himself a prisoner in the Tower. On that same day, Don Guerau wrote to Philip:—

"The Earls of Northumberland, Westmoreland, Cumberland, and Derby—the whole Catholic body—are furious at the timidity which the Duke has shewn. The Earl of Northumberland's servant, who was here awhile ago on his business, has returned to me, and I have letters also in cipher from the Bishop of Ross. The sum of their message to me is this—that they will take forcible possession of the Queen of Scots, they will make themselves masters of the Northern Counties, re-establish the Catholic religion, and restore the prizes taken from your Majesty's subjects. They expect some arquebusmen from the Low Countries. I have referred their request to the Duke of Alva."*

The examination which followed the Duke of Norfolk's committal to the Tower brought some facts to light which implicated Lords Northumberland and Westmoreland, and they too were summoned to Court; but fearing a similar fate to Norfolk's, they threw off the mask and broke out into open rebellion, and on Sunday, the 14th of November, they entered Durham with their followers, restored the dismembered Altar to its original position in the cathedral, and, tearing to pieces the English Bible and Prayer Book, had mass celebrated once more in the ancient fane. Next day they marched towards York,

* Simancas MSS., quoted by Froude.

acquiring strength as they advanced. On the 23rd their main body, numbering twelve or fifteen thousand men, lay at Wetherby and Tadcaster, while some of their advanced horse occupied stations still further south, and within fifty miles of Tutbury and Mary Queen of Scots.

The avowed object of the rebels was the re-establishment of the old religion and the expulsion of the Queen's ill-advisers—in fact, it was a second and enlarged edition of the Pilgrimage of Grace, and several who had taken part in that rebellion again unfurled the banner of the cross and joined the insurgents.

Meantime, Lord Sussex, who was inside the walls of York with only three thousand men, promptly informed the Council of the sudden insurrection and begged for money and reinforcements.

The Queen and Council acted with decision and energy. According to the old ballad of the time,

> "Her Grace she turned herself about,
> And like a royal queen she swore
> She would ordaine them such a breakfast
> As never was in the north before."*

A want of confidence in the loyalty of the Earl of Sussex was one of the ugliest features of the rebellion in her eyes. He was a well-known friend of Norfolk's, and his brother, Egremont Radcliffe, was actually one of the rebels.†

Two men of undoubted loyalty and bravery were consequently despatched to York. One was Lord Hunsdon, Queen Elisabeth's cousin, and the other was Sir Ralph Sadleir; while Ambrose Dudley, Earl of Warwick, and Lord Clinton (Lord Admiral) were placed at the head of the forces under orders to march to York as soon as possible.

Hunsdon must have started on the very day the news arrived. Sir Ralph, who was appointed also Treasurer of the army, followed in a day or two afterwards (the 18th of November), attended by "forty horsemen of his own servants"‡ as a retinue.

Sadleir bore a letter of credence from the Queen to Sussex, in which, having referred to the present trouble and importance of the occasion, she informed the Earl that she had "made special choice of our trusty and well-beloved Sir Ralph Sadleir, Chancellor of the

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* "Rising in the North Countrye," published in "Reliques of Ancient Poetry."

† The Queen rather liked Sussex personally. Leicester consequently disliked him, and now endeavoured to foster suspicion against him in Elizabeth's mind.

‡ These horsemen were paid sixteenpence a day each, from the 18th of November until the 4th of February, the day on which Sir Ralph arrived at home. His own allowance for "entertainment," as "assistant to the Lord Lieutenant and Treasurer," was twenty shillings a day. Lord Hunsdon, "General of the Horsemen," received the same. Sadleir was also allowed for two clerks, two carriages, and ten "partizens" for the treasure. (Sadler State Papers, Vol. II., p. 188.)

Duchy, because he is one that for the long and often services of great charge and importance wherein he hath been employed in those north parts, in the time both of our father and brother of good memory, is of good experience that way, and we do verily believe he shall be no small ease and comfort to you. We have appointed him to remain for a time with you, to the end you may use his advice and counsel in this service, knowing no man so fit for that purpose as he is."*

When Sadleir reached Gainsborough, on the morning of the 22nd, he found that the rebels barred the direct road to York; he therefore followed Lord Hunsdon, who for the same reason had gone round by Hull. Sir Ralph arrived at Hull at midnight on the 23rd, and he and Lord Hunsdon proceeded to York next day. The Earl of Sussex met them at the gate of the city, and rejoiced not a little at their coming. "After our being in his lodging," Sir Ralph writes to Queen Elizabeth, "I delivered unto him your Majesty's letters, which, when he had read, he rendered most humble thanks to your Majesty, and said that of all the benefits which ever he did or shall receive at your Majesty's hands, he doth account this for one of the greatest, in that it pleased your Highness to send me to him in this sort and in this time. And I do assure your Majesty I do find myself welcome unto him; for if I were his own brother he could not use me with more gentle entertainment than he doth." Sir Ralph then proceeds to assure the Queen that Sussex is a true and faithful subject—careful, diligent, and circumspect in the execution of his duty; and he justifies his conduct in waiting for reinforcements before he advanced against the rebels, who numbered "6000 footmen and 1000 horse; whereof a great number of them being servants to the two Earls and other gentlemen, are pistoliers, armed and furnished with shot; which argueth that this matter had long beforehand been prepared for by the said rebels." He concludes his letter by asking for reinforcements, especially cavalry, as soon as possible, and for money to defray the expenses.

The next letter in the Sadleir collection is to Sir Ralph from his friend Lord Clinton, who had arrived at Lincoln on the 26th with some troops. Clinton gives a glowing account of the loyalty of all the surrounding country, and states he has 12,000 men ready to march at a moment's notice against the Queen's enemies. One is amused, however, to find another letter from Clinton, dated three days later, in which he tells Sir Ralph that in the former letter he "made great boast of the numbers of men in this county (Lincoln), because to bring them betwixt this and York, he doubted the intercepting." In fact, there was no such force as Clinton boasted of then ready to march against the rebels, nor did Sir Ralph think so many requisite.

* Burghley State Papers, Haynes, p. 555.

"If we have," wrote he to Cecil, "a supply out of the south of 1000 horsemen and 2000 footmen—whereof, as I wrote before, I would have 500 pikes armed and 500 shot of the arquebus—there is no doubt but with God's grace we shall be able to bring this matter to a good end without any danger."

The Queen had an idea that the rebellion was of little consequence, and that her loyal subjects in Yorkshire alone could overpower the rebels; but Sir Ralph undeceived her. "There is not," he informed Cecil, "in all this country ten gentlemen that do favour and allow of Her Majesty's proceedings in religion, and the common people be ignorant, full of superstition, and altogether blinded with the old popish doctrine, and therefore do so much favour the cause which the rebels make the colour of their rebellion, that though their persons be here with us, I assure you their hearts for the most part are with the rebels, and no doubt they had wholly rebelled if at the beginning my Lord Lieutenant (Sussex) had not both wisely and stoutly handled the matter."*

As soon as Hunsdon, on his way to York, found that the rebels were in such dangerous proximity to Tutbury, he sent a message in hot haste to the Council to remove Mary Queen of Scots elsewhere. Another spurring courier bore the order to the Earls of Shrewsbury and Huntingdon—who had then charge of Mary—and they at once and unceremoniously removed her to Coventry. The hope of the rebels to rescue her was therefore baffled, and their failure in this respect was of great importance; for had they succeeded in bringing the Queen of Scots to their camp, Alva and his Spaniards would have come to her assistance from Antwerp. Nor was this the worst disappointment which befel the insurgents. The Earls of Westmoreland and Northumberland believed that not only Alva but all the old nobility throughout England would at once join them; but whether it was the suddenness of their rising, the unfavourable weather, or the vigorous action of the Government, or all three combined, the Spanish contingent did not venture across the sea, the rebellion did not spread southward, and the northern Earls were left to their own resources.†

When the reinforcements arrived at York, the royalist forces marched out against the rebels, who retreated northwards. Sussex, Hunsdon, and Sadleir led the way in pursuit; Warwick and Clinton followed with the main body. On the 17th of December the whole of

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* Sir Ralph was [illegible] his official [illegible] correspondence. [illegible] Lady Sadleir, who [illegible] [illegible] Vol. II., p. 37.)

† [illegible] Sir George [illegible] of the [illegible] North Country Barons staunch to the Government. He bravely

the royal army had reached Ripon,* while the rebels—affrighted and disheartened by the persistent pursuit—separated, and sought refuge in the most out-of-the-way parts of the country,† or fled across the Border into Scotland; nor even then were they out of danger, for the Regent, Murray—who had an interest in quelling a rebellion in favour of Queen Mary—marched with a body of men to the Border, to co-operate with Elizabeth's generals. Amongst those who fell into his hands was the Earl of Northumberland, who was treacherously delivered up to him by Hector Armstrong, of Harlaw. The Earl of Westmoreland was more fortunate, and found a sanctuary at Fernihurst, the Laird of which sympathised with him.

The rebellion was thus completely suppressed, and nothing remained but to make an example of all the fugitives the royalists could capture. On the 10th of January the Queen wrote to Sussex that she "somewhat marvelled that she had as yet heard nothing from him of any execution done by martial law, as was appointed," and she directed him, if the same was not already done, to "proceed thereto with all expedition, and to certify her of his doings therein."‡ Sussex had no need of this stimulant, for he was only too anxious to prove his loyalty, even at the expense of humanity. Already he and Bowes had caused several hundreds to be hanged in various northern towns. "Such a breakfast never was in the north before."§

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attacked the [illegible] but was obliged to retreat into Barnard Castle. Westmoreland [illegible] Bowes held out for some time, until his men began to desert in [illegible] Then surrendered on the condition that he and the faithful portion of [illegible] allowed to depart on their way unscathed. The episode is thus referred to in the ancient poem:—

"Then Sir George Bowes he straightway rose,
After them some spoil to take:
Those noble Earls turned back again,
And aye they vowed that Knight to take.

Then Bowes he to his castle fled,
To Barnard Castle then fled he:
The [illegible] were castle to win,
The Earls have won their prey full free.

[illegible]

[illegible] exceed forty.

Meantime, Sussex and Sadleir advanced their head-quarters to Hexham, while Warwick and Clinton remained in the neighbourhood of Ripon.*

But all active military operations ceased early in January; Sadleir, however, by the Queen's desire,† continued in the north, to arrange the garrisons to be left there, and to disband the remainder of the army. Elizabeth promised to recall Sir Ralph as soon as possible, "according to the old desire we know you have to be at home, if you be not employed in our service; and so surely we would presently satisfy your desire if we might spare you from thence."‡

Several important letters will be found in the Sadler State Papers which passed between Sir Ralph and Clinton, Cecil, Warwick, Bedford, the Queen, and the Council, and throw light on the "rising in the north," the circumstances and consequences of which created a deep and lasting sensation amongst north-countrymen. But those to Sadleir from Sir Robert Constable are the most curiously interesting. Constable, who was a North Country gentleman (?) of good family, and a cousin to Lord Westmoreland, introduced himself to Sir Ralph as a servant of the Earl of Leicester's, who willed him to report himself to Sir Ralph for secret service—in short, to act as spy on the rebels.

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* Cecil, with his usual forethought, wrote to Sadleir as follows:—"I doubt there may be some interpretation of my Lord Warwick and my Lord Admiral's doings, as though they should prejudice my Lord of Sussex' authority being Lieutenant: wherein, I doubt not, but as you see occasion you will help to salve things, if any be past, and to stay things hereafter. I think they all will receive your advice in good part."—*Cecil to Sadleir, Windsor Castle, 28th December*, 1569.

In reply, Sadleir informed Mr. Secretary that the lords in question were "all good noblemen, and such as I love well, and surely I see none other but good liking and agreement amongst them."—*Sadleir to Cecil, Durham, 1st January*, 1570. (Arms on seal, a lion rampant).

Sir Ralph appears to have been a most useful official. In addition to other duties, the Queen had entrusted him with the charge of the Earl of Rutland—a young nobleman only thirteen years old, in whom she took a great interest, and who accompanied the expedition to the north for the purpose of flesching his maiden sword in Her Majesty's service. —*Elizabeth to Sadleir, Windsor, 20th of November*, 1569.

Thomas Cecil, the Secretary's son, attended the young Earl to the north, and his father begged of Sir Ralph "to challenge him as you would your own for things needful in youth to be reformed." As soon as all chance of further hostilities died away, the Queen directed Sir Ralph to send Lord Rutland back to Court. Thomas Cecil—who was a bit of a scapegrace—returned with him, having previously applied to his father, and without waiting to know Her Majesty's intentions, for the administration of Norton's estate, which he expected would be confiscated for his benefit, as he had "adventured his carcase in the Queen's service."

† The Queen to Sadleir, Windsor, 6th of January, 1570.

‡ Lord Clinton, like most of his companions, was glad to leave the comfortless north. On the 9th of January he wrote to his friend Sir Ralph, "I wish I were rid out of this country, and at Standon on my way homewards." Sir Ralph, in reply, wished that he too might go to Standon to receive him, "but I must needs tarry the good hour, which I pray God may come shortly."

Accordingly, when the principal offenders took refuge on the far side of the Border, Constable followed them to their hiding places, protected by a safe conduct received from his "dear cousin" Westmoreland, whom, for the sake of reward, he was particularly desirous to betray. His graphic description of his perilous adventures presents to our minds a vivid picture of wild Border life in that troublous time.

"May it please your honour to understand," wrote he to Sadleir, "on Thursday last, not taking any servant of my own with me, I committed myself to the conduction of two outlaws, who would not care to steal, and yet would not betray any man that trusts them for all the gold in Scotland or France. We came that night to George Pill's house near Jedworth (Jedburgh). On Saturday I caused George Pill to ride with me to Fernihurst,* where I found the Earl of Westmoreland, not secretly kept, but walking before the gates openly, with seven of his servants standing by. After enquiring for news, my Lord told me if I had come but six hours sooner I should have spoken to my Lady of Northumberland; for the same night, after midnight, she rode from Fernihurst to Hume Castle. My Lord told me how greatly he was beholding to the Laird that friendly had defended him from the Regent, and kept him ever within three miles of the Regent, all that while he lay at Jedworth, how near he was sought for and how straitly he escaped it was strange, and how that this day fortnight the Regent had assembled 800 horsemen and footmen, and came forth from Jedworth on purpose to search the house of Fernihurst, but so soon as he marched thitherward his company fled from him, and ere he came within a quarter of a mile of Fernihurst he had left but his own men, which were not 200; so that he returned to Jedworth, and said that he rode but to view the woods. The next morning, three hours before day, he rode with the Earl of Northumberland towards Edinburgh, and thence he rode on to Loch Leven,† where he has left the Earl in safe keeping." Constable made Fernihurst Castle his head-quarters for several days, picking up information as to the whereabout of the unfortunate fugitives he was seeking to betray.

One day Constable rode with Pill to Cavers, the abode of Douglas, High Sheriff of Teviotdale, to visit, under the guise of friendship, Mr. Norton—a fine old North Country squire, who for conscience sake had taken part in the Pilgrimage of Grace, and, true to his colours, had with eight of his sons joined the recent movement, and was now hiding at Cavers.‡ "By the way as we rode," continued the spy, "I told my

* The baronial castle of the Lairds of Fernihurst, very strongly situated on the banks of the Jed, between two and three miles above Jedburgh. Sir Thomas Kerr was Laird at this time.

† The isolated castle in Kinross, where Mary Queen of Scots had been recently immured.

‡ Constable advised Mr. Norton and his sons to return to England and sue the Queen

host, George Pill, that the Laird of Fernihurst, his master, had taken such an enterprise in hand that not a subject in England durst do the like, to keep any man openly as he did the Earl of Westmoreland, against the will of the chief authority. He said that his master cared not so much for the Regent as the Regent cared for him, for he was well able to raise three thousand men within his own rule; besides that, his first wife, by whom he had goodly children, was daughter of the Lord of Grange (Kirealdy), Captain of Edinburgh Castle. This wife he lately married is sister to the Lord of Buccleugh. Also that Lord Hume and almost all the gentlemen in Teviotdale, the Marsh, and Loudyan were knit together in such friendship that they are agreed all to take one part; and that the Lord of Grange was offended with the Lord Hume and the Lord Fernihurst because they took not the Earl of Northumberland from my Lord Regent at Jedworth, and sent plain word to my Lord of Fernihurst that if the Lord Regent came to seek him any more in Teviotdale he should let loose all his bulls—both the Duke, the Lord Herries, the Secretary, and others—he should set them all at liberty that would come with all their power to take his part. And by as much as I can hear, the Teviotdale men intend to do all the annoyance they can to England as soon as this storm is past." This piece of information was perfectly true. Kircaldy of Grange, whom the Regent had appointed Governor of Edinburgh Castle, was veering round to the cause of Queen Mary, and sometime afterwards he actually did 'let loose the bulls'—that is, set at liberty the Duke of Chatelherault, Lord Herries, and Maitland of Lethington, who, as adherents of Mary, had been imprisoned in Edinburgh Castle.

Being benighted on the road when returning from Cavers, Constable stopped at Pill's house, "where I found many guests of divers factions—some outlaws of England, some of Scotland, some neighbours thereabout, at cards (some for ale, some for placks and hardheads);* and after that I had diligently learned and enquired that there was none of

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for mercy. Unfortunately for themselves they ultimately took his advice, were captured, as he intended, and all except one were executed.

"Thee, Norton, with thy eight good sons—
They doomed to die, alas! forsooth;
Thy reverend locks thee could not save,
Nor them their fair and blooming youth."

It is pleasant to record that one of the sons, Francis Norton, was acquitted of having taken part in the rebellion, and in spite of Tom Cecil's claim, received back a good deal of his paternal estates. The Nortons referred to here are the Nortons of Rilston or Rylstone, near Skipton, concerning whom Wordsworth composed "The White Doe of Rylstone." The Nortons of Norton Convers also joined the insurgents. (See "Roll of Attainders," Sadler State Papers, Vol. II., p. 162.) Sir Walter Scott confused the two families in his footnote, p. 113, Sadler State Papers.

* Small copper coins.

any surname that had me in deadly feud, nor none that knew me, I sat down and played for hardheads amongst them, when I heard *vox populi* that the Lord Regent would not, for his own honour nor for the honour of the country, deliver the Earls, if he had them both, unless it were to have their Queen delivered to him; and if he would agree to make that change, the Borderers would start up in his contrary and rieve both the Queen and the Lords from him, for the like shame was never done in Scotland; and that he durst better eat his own lugs than come again to seek Fernihurst. If he did, he should be fought with ere he came over Sowtray Edge. Hector of Harlow's* head was wished to have been eaten amongst us at supper."

The sham sympathy with which the arch-traitor worked upon the feelings of his noble relative, may at this distance of time provoke a smile instead of the sneer to which it was then entitled:—"I prayed the Earl of Westmoreland to consider the miserable estate that he had lewdly brought himself to, and to seek out the best way how to recover himself again, and not to run wilfully upon his utter destruction, to the overthrow of his house, which hath been honourable and of great antiquity, and never spotted till now by this his woful fact. He looked at me, and took all patiently that I spoke; the tears overhailed his cheeks abundantly. I could not forbear weeping to see him suddenly fall to repentance: neither of us could speak to another for a long time. At last, he wiped his cheeks and prayed me to follow him. He went to his chamber in the tower, and commanded his men forth, and locked to the door himself, and thus he began:—'Cousin Robert, you are my kinsman near come forth out of my house, and one whom I dearly love and trust.'" The Earl then unburdened his heart to his unworthy relative, and at the end asked him if he dare carry a token to his wife, and "he took a little ring from his finger which she knew, and prayed me to deliver it to her, and to will her to take no care nor thought of him, for all his care was for her and his children, which grieved him much more to consider the misery that he left them in than any danger that could happen to his own body, and that he hoped by God's grace to recover the Queen's favour again for all this; and to will my Lady to send by me one of her best jewels in a token to my Lady Kerr of Fernihurst, and the fairest gelding she could get to the Laird, because my Lord puts them to great charges and they will take no money."

The spy continues to inform Sir Ralph Sadleir of his doings:—"I came forth of Scotland on Sunday, all night last, the extremest day for wind and snow that I ever rode in. We were almost utterly confounded, and driven forth of our way divers times upon the fall, that

* Hector Armstrong, who betrayed the Earl of Northumberland into the Regent's hands. Sir Walter Scott justly calls the description of the revel of outlaws extremely lively.

we know not where we were, and yet, praise be to God, at last within night got home, all befrozen. I have spoiled my best gelding, that I have refused £30* for within this half-year. I fear he will never do me more service." Having thus referred to his arduous services, and the loss of his valuable steed, Constable gives his own version of affairs at Fernihurst, and pointedly urges a further reason why Sir Ralph ought to send him money:—"The Laird of Fernihurst is both poor and covetous. There is one that is as covetous as he, that may persuade him to do anything for profit. Now, what a golden hook may do to a covetous man! If it be right laid, possibly he will bite, and it may catch him; besides that, the Laird will soon be weary with the cost he is at, and some part through the jealousy he is entered into with my Lord of Westmoreland and his new wanton lady. I dare undertake nothing, because such thing is uncertain; but I would think to do more good with a thousand pounds, or less, to be wisely bestowed that way, than can be with five thousand to be bestowed of my Lord Regent, or with ten thousand men's strength to hunt them forth of Teviotdale." He concludes with, "Your Honour may credit this bearer with carriage of your letter, if you like to write to me; but I pray you send no message otherwise, because he loveth good ale.

"From Newcastle, this 12th of January. Your Honour's to command even to death."

Three days afterwards, Constable wrote a second letter, describing his interview with the Countess of Westmoreland (Norfolk's sister), at Branspeth Castle—the splendid seat of the Nevilles:—

"After I desired her faithful and honourable promise to keep secret that I had to say to her, for it touched my life, she gave her hand and faith to do so. I kissed my Lord's ring and gave it to her. She was passing joyful." Having won the confidence of the Countess, she entrusted the traitor with messages to her husband, "with further instruction by word of mouth, wherein she hath shewed herself to be the faithful servant of God, a dutiful subject to the Queen's Majesty, an obedient, careful, loving wife to her husband, and for ripeness of wit, readiness of memory, and plain and pithy utterance of words, I have talked with many, but never with her like. I have sent you herein enclosed a little chain, and a ring with a diamond, to be delivered to the Laird of Fernihurst, a tablet to the Lady, and a little ring to my Lord. As for the horse, I told her I had considered with myself I durst not venture to carry any."†

He concludes by again recommending Sir Ralph to send him money

* An exceedingly high price for a horse in those days.

† I think we may fairly conclude that Constable received the horse as well as the jewels, but kept it for himself in place of the gelding he lamed.

for the purpose of "corrupting the Laird of Fernihurst, and to assay if the ball may be turned into my Lord Warden's lap;" that is, to induce the fugitives to re-cross the Border, that they might fall into the Lord Warden's hands.

Constable's letters contained important intelligence: the whereabouts of the principal rebels, the sympathy of Mary Stuart's party with them, Kircaldy's defection, Alva's readiness for invasion; but Sir Ralph had evidently no wish to take part in Constable's treacherous dealings. He wrote a brief and cautious reply, returned poor Lady Westmoreland's tokens, which he advised Constable to deliver, commended him for his painful travail in the Queen's service, referred him to the Lord Warden, and informed him that he had forwarded his letters to Her Majesty's Secretary.

There were no scruples, however, at Court as to employing the spy. "Upon consideration of the matter, Her Majesty entered into sundry opinions what were meet to be done for the apprehension of the rebels," and directed Cecil to write to Sadleir that "she would have R. C. secretly dealt with to prosecute the enterprise, to train the rebels to his house, or otherwise to some places in England where they might be apprehended; and in so doing Her Majesty assures you he shall be largely rewarded."*

The message was duly transmitted to Constable, and we may presume it was through his means the Nortons and others were eventually captured; but the Earl of Westmoreland, who probably knew his "loving cousin" too well, was not entrapped. He made his escape to Flanders, and entering the Spanish service there, waited anxiously for the turn of the tide which would place his patroness on the throne and restore with increased lustre the fallen honours of his ancient house; but, unfortunately for him, year upon year rolled by, Mary Queen of Scots remained in captivity, and the Earl died in Antwerp, after several years of exile, disappointment, and poverty.†

On the 22nd of January Queen Elizabeth wrote to Sadleir desiring him to return to Court as soon as he had "defrayed the treasures lately sent" to him, in order to inform her of "divers things necessary to be known, as well as to be in London in Term time," in respect of his office of Chancellor of the Duchy. But a week afterwards she sent him another letter, informing him of the assassination of the Regent, Murray, and directing him to remain in the north, as there might be occasion

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* Cecil to Sadleir, Windsor, 18th of January, 1570.

† The Earl's estates were confiscated, but Mary Queen of Scots occasionally sent him money. Queen Elizabeth allowed Lady Westmoreland £200 a year. The wretched state of the English fugitives under the King of Spain in Flanders is described in a "Discourse" published among the Sadler State Papers. It was not, however, written by Sir Ralph Sadleir.

for him to go to Scotland:—"For the continuance of you," writes the Queen, "in such troublesome journeys, we would be very sorry that you should have cause; but such is the importance of this matter, and your understanding also therein, as we cannot but at this time make choice of you."

Sir Ralph, however, did not receive the second letter time enough to prevent his coming back from the north upon his former licence; for he arrived at Standon unexpectedly, with the Earl of Sussex, and thus escaped the fatigues and dangers of another Scottish mission.

The fears of the outlaws, as reported by Constable, that the Regent, Murray, intended to exchange his prisoner, the Earl of Northumberland, for the Queen of Scots, proved well founded. Murray actually contemplated such an exchange. It would be fatal to both prisoners, and in order to prevent it, the Hamiltons—who were Mary's partisans—determined to murder the Regent. Accordingly, as he passed through the narrow street of Linlithgow, on the 23rd of January, he was shot through the body by Hamilton of Bothwellhaugh, who had concealed himself for the purpose in Archbishop Hamilton's house.

The death of Murray—the ablest and boldest Governor Scotland ever possessed—was as great a loss to the Reformers and the English faction as it was a gain to the Catholics and the Queen's party. Queen Elizabeth foresaw that fresh disturbance and difficulty would crop up in Scotland, and hence her desire to send Sir Ralph there.*

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* The Sadler State Papers include over seventy letters concerning the northern rebellion, a statement of Sir Ralph's account as treasurer, a roll of the attainders of the rebels, and letters concerning the Nevilles.

CHAPTER XXI.

PLOTS.

(1570–73.)

Though the rebellion had been promply put down with a strong hand, nevertheless traces of it remained which showed the extent of its ramifications, and the consequences which might have ensued and changed the course of history, had not fortune favoured the brave action of Elizabeth's Government. The disaffection of the English nobility, and the paralysis of her party in Scotland, caused by Murray's death, now rendered Elizabeth nervous as to the security of her crown and life. Nor was her anxiety diminished by the hostile feeling evinced by both France and Spain, while, at the same time, Pope Pius V. issued a Bull of excommunication against her.

Her first care, therefore, was to place the militia of the kingdom in proper order and readiness for active service. To this end, she wrote to the Lord Lieutenants* of the various shires. Amongst the rest, Sir Ralph Sadleir, who had recently been "appointed by letters patent Lieutenant of the Shire of Hertford,"† received a letter from the Queen (15th of February, 1570), soon after he arrived at home, stating that it was "very necessary that her subjects should, throughout the whole realm, be otherwise furnished than it seemeth they lately were;" and directing him to muster, review, and register the troops within his lieutenancy, and take care that not only the men themselves, but their horses, armour, arms, accoutrements, and ammunition were fit for active service.

Soon afterwards occasion arose to test the efficiency of these musters. The very day after the assassination of the Regent, Murray, the Lairds of Buccleugh and Fernihurst, accompanied by the Earl of Westmoreland, broke into England with their clans, and laid waste the frontiers with unwonted ferocity. To avenge this insult, as well as to chastise the Border chieftains for the protection they afforded to her rebels, Elizabeth sent Sussex into Scotland with 4,000 southerners (who had no sympathy with the northern insurgents). On the 10th of March the Queen ordered Sir Ralph to send fifty foot soldiers from his shire

* Lieutenants or Lord Lieutenants of Counties in England were instituted in 1549, during the reign of Edward VI.

† The shire of Hertford then included Essex.

with all speed to York, as she had "occasion to increase her garrisons on the frontiers;" and on the following day he received another letter directing him to despatch a body of horse to join Sussex's expedition. "For the demi-lance the horse or gelding to be of good strength and able, with all the furniture, both to travel and do the requisite service. The man to serve upon him to be also able for the purpose, and be armed with an armour having a rest for the lance. For the light horsemen, that the armour be at least a corslet, and the weapon a light staff and a pistol; and that the coats of either of the horsemen be cloth, and the colour blue."*

The Queen instructed Sussex to make the offenders "feel sword and firebrand." He carried out his orders as well as he could. The Scotch fled out of reach of his sword; but in the course of a week he totally wasted, burned, and destroyed the vales of Teviot, Kale, and Bowmont, levelling fifty castles and strongholds, and above three hundred villages.

Of course the Sussex raid was an indirect punishment of Mary Stuart's adherents, who were now leaving no stone unturned to gain their own ends during the confusion which followed the Regent's death.

Libellous publications, apparently proceeding from Scotland, were in May "put forth and circulated with no small diligence, denouncing by name the four following eminent and distinguished statesmen—Bacon (the Lord Keeper), Cecil, Sadleir, and Mildmay.† These great men were represented to be the cause of all the dangers complained of; that they misgoverned the State, and abused the Sovereign."‡

The libels of the enemy only served to convince the Queen more than ever that these very statesmen formed the bulwarks of her throne; but wishing to conciliate the Catholic nobility, she reinstated Lords Arundel and Lumley on the Council. These noblemen were no sooner installed in power than they commenced plotting for the restoration of Mary Stuart; and through their influence a majority of the Council pressed upon Elizabeth the advisability of withdrawing her support from the young King and transferring it to his mother. This, they urged, would provide a panacea for all grievances, and the Catholic powers of Europe would be appeased. In vain Cecil's party in the

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* Sadler State Papers, Vol. II., p. 154.

† Sir Walter Mildmay was son of Thomas Mildmay, Surveyor of the Court of Augmentations—*i.e.*, the augmentations to the revenue from abbey lands. He was knighted in 1547, after Edward's coronation. Queen Elizabeth made him Chancellor of the Exchequer on ascending the throne, but never advanced him higher, as "his integrity was too stiff to bend to the politics of that reign." He was also too much of a Puritan for Elizabeth's tastes. He married a sister of Sir Francis Walsingham's (at this time ambassador in Paris). Was a staunch supporter of Cecil's.

‡ Nares.

Council protested; Elizabeth concurred with the majority, and sent Cecil and Mildmay to Chatsworth* in October to negotiate with Mary the terms on which she should be re-seated on her native throne.

As a further piece of conciliation, the Duke of Norfolk was released from the Tower, on his promising to have nothing to do in future with the Queen of Scots.

It was only under conditions very favourable to herself that Elizabeth offered to restore Mary, and Cecil and Mildmay presented them to the Ex-Queen in the most forcible light; but Mary met their arguments with a considerable amount not only of woman's wit, but of legal acumen.†

To her credit be it recorded, Mary refused to agree to deliver up the Earls of Westmoreland and Northumberland, and the other English insurgents who had sought a sanctuary in Scotland. Cecil, however, came to an agreement with her, and the two parties in Scotland were requested to send Commissioners to London to make arrangements for the restoration of their Queen. The proposal was naturally most unpalatable to the young King's faction. Lennox, who had succeeded Murray as Regent, had neither the ability nor the influence of his predecessor. Kircaldy of Grange, Maitland of Lethington, and other men of note had declared for Mary. Elizabeth was the great hope of the Scotch Protestants, and she now forsook her faction. The young King's party possessed, however, a tower of strength in Morton, and on him, as Commissioner, their hopes concentrated and relied.

Meanwhile, Cecil—who still viewed Mary Stuart's return to power with alarm—recommended Elizabeth to marry the Duke of Anjou, next brother and heir presumptive to her quondam suitor the King of France. The Queen was thirty-seven, whilst the Duke was only twenty; but the political advantages of the match, and prospect of providing an heir to the throne who would totally eclipse Mary Stuart's pretensions, overcame any objections Her Majesty may have entertained to such a marriage, and she yielded to the persuasions of Cecil, who did not scruple to avail himself of Leicester's compliant assistance on the occasion.‡ Catherine de Medici, the Duke's mother, cordially approved

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* Shrewsbury had taken Mary to Chatsworth instead of back to Tutbury.

† "In a clause for the punishment of Darnley's murderers, she introduced the words 'according to the laws of the realm;' intending, as a marginal note in Cecil's hand indicates, to shelter Bothwell still behind his previous acquittal. She was willing to bind herself to do nothing to the future in prejudice of the Queen of England, or her issue; but she inserted, as a target on to aim notions, with no good or honourable meaning, the word 'lawful' making the phrase 'lawful issue,' as if Elizabeth might produce issue which would be unlawful."—*Froude*.

‡ Writing of this affair, Froude remarks:—"The English Court below the surface was seething with intrigue, and the base influence of the Queen's favourites was at work per-

of the match, and secret negotiations were entered into between the French and English Governments on the subject.

In February, 1571, the Commissioners met in London to consider the Scotch question. Morton, on the part of the young King, vigorously opposed the restoration of the Ex-Queen. Bacon, looking from an English point of view, supported Morton. "If," said the Lord Keeper, "the Queen of Scots was restored, in three months she would kindle a fire which would wrap the island in flames, and which the power of man would fail to extinguish. If Elizabeth would recognise and support the Regent, all Scotland would be instantly at her devotion, and with Scotland hers she might defy the malice of the world."* The Bishop of Ross, on the other hand, urged Mary's claim, and the French ambassador supported him. Finally, Morton said the government of Scotland was already established in the young King, and that he, as Commissioner, had no power to come to any agreement without the consent of the three estates of the realm.

Elizabeth, with her usual inconsistency, had been already wavering in her desire to reinstate Mary, and considering that her marriage with the Duke of Anjou would enable her to defy all her enemies, now accepted Morton's argument, and the conference was postponed *sine die*, to the great disappointment and annoyance of the Queen of Scots.†

It was quite impossible to satisfy all parties. Partiality to Mary Queen of Scots and the Catholics meant animosity to the young King and the Protestants; peace with France was war with Spain; hence the stormy aspect of the political horizon of England in the beginning of 1571.

The Catholics of England, as well as the Pope of Rome, had looked upon the restoration of Mary Queen of Scots as the eventual restoration of their religion; there annoyance, therefore, knew no bounds when the recent conference came to nothing, while the Spaniards regarded with unmixed dislike the impending union of the English Queen with the French Royal Duke.

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petually to undo or neutralise the counsels of her statesmen." No wonder that Sir Ralph Sadleir informed Cecil (from Standon, 1st of August, 1570) that he had "no great desire to be a courtier, but prefers to live quietly at home." In the same letter, Sadleir, referring to the Huguenots, adds:—"If peace follow in France, I hope that those who profess God's true religion may be protected." Vain hope! as the Bartholomew massacre proved.

* This was Sadleir's view of the case. Compare his speech in Council, p. 173, and his letter to Cecil from Standon, August 1st, 1570, in which he says, "If Scotland is sure, Spain and France can do us little harm." (Lemon's "Calendar of State Papers.")

† Elizabeth's vacillation at this crisis is well described by Froude:—"In such a situation the wisdom of one moment became the folly of the next. Anger and vexation would not answer arguments or remove dangers, and with Leicester for ever whispering at her ear she swung to and fro, now determining to restore the Queen of Scots, now to marry Anjou, now to go with Bacon and Cecil, now with Arundel and Norfolk."

By the middle of March—that is, less than a month after the breaking up of the conference—a new conspiracy was set on foot, similar to the last one but better planned, in which the Queen of Scots, the King of Spain, and the Pope of Rome were to unite with the English nobility and Catholics for the overthrow of Elizabeth and Protestantism. Ridolfi, the Pope's agent in London, was the prime mover in the new plot. With the help of the Bishop of Ross, he rapidly and secretly consulted with the Catholic peers, obtained their adhesion, and induced the Duke of Norfolk to take the lead. Having thus prepared all the refractory elements at home, he started on a tour abroad to Brussels, Rome, and Madrid, for the purpose of arranging with Duke Alva, the Pope, and Philip, a Spanish invasion of England from Flanders. The plot was cleverly contrived, and had it been allowed to come to a head would in all probability have effected its object of restoring Mary Stuart and re-establishing the Romish religion in England and Scotland.

But Lord Burghley's (Cecil)* vigilance and circumspection were more than a match for Ridolfi's secrecy and caution. In April a man called Bailey landed at Dover from Flanders. He was searched by Government officials, and on him were found letters in cipher from Ridolfi, from Brussels, to the Duke of Norfolk, Lord Lumley, and the Bishop of Ross—a most suspicious circumstance truly, and Burghley lost no time in putting his detective machinery at work to unravel the startling mystery. He found out enough to shew him that Mary Stuart and the Duke of Norfolk were again plotting mischief, but not enough to lead to their conviction. The summer passed on. The conspirators matured their plans; Burghley increased his vigilance. At length, in September, he received a bag which contained money and a letter in cipher, which a servant of the Duke of Norfolk's had entrusted to a carrier for transmission across the Border to some of the leaders of Mary's faction.

This led to an examination of Howard Place—the Duke's residence in London. Letters were found implicating him, the Queen of Scots,

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* Sir William Cecil was raised to the peerage as Baron Burghley, on the 25th of February, 1571. Sackville, the Queen's cousin, had previously been created Lord Buckhurst, and in this same year Lord Clinton was promoted to the Earldom of Lincoln, doubtless for services in suppressing the rising in the north. One almost regrets that Sir Ralph Sadleir "had no desire to be a courtier, and preferred to live quietly at home;" for he certainly deserved a coronet, in place of his long and brilliant services to the State, and had he been less independent might have obtained it now.

On the 30th of December, 1570, the Queen wrote to Sir Ralph, authorising him "to deliver to Sir William Cecil certain oak trees out of the manor of Enfield." (See Lemon's "Calendar of State Papers.") The trees were evidently meant for the mansion Cecil was then building at Theobalds, about three miles distant, but I cannot discover why Sir Ralph should have charge of the royal manor of Enfield, in Essex, unless he was still Master of the Great Wardrobe, and that it was his duty as such to superintend all the royal residences.

and others in the projected rebellion. Discovery led to discovery. The Bishop of Ross, amongst others, made a full confession of what he knew, and at length a fatal chain of evidence enfolded the hapless Duke.

It is an illustration of the rapid and decisive action of the period that Sir Ralph Sadleir was aroused out of bed in his town residence (the Duchy House, Savoy) on the night of the 3rd of September, and ordered to proceed with some of the Queen's Guard to Howard Place and arrest the Duke. His Grace was restricted to his chamber for the next three days, during which Sir Ralph remained at Howard Place at daytime, but went home each night, leaving half-a-dozen of his men with Sir Henry Neville on guard.

On the 7th Sir Ralph received the Queen's warrant to conduct the Duke to the Tower, and thither he was accordingly conveyed on a "foot-cloth nag,"* Sir Ralph riding on one side of him and Sir Thomas Smith† on the other. Sadleir remained in the Tower also during the day time, begging the while to be relieved from his unpleasant duty. On the 10th, as, writing from the Tower, he informs Burghley, the Duke sent for him in the morning to the Savoy, and falling on his knees said he had made his humble submission to the Queen, and begged Sir Ralph to intercede for him.

On the last day of October the Duke was finally examined by Sadleir and Bromley (afterwards Lord Chancellor), and his answers being not satisfactory, the Queen, on the advice of the Council, determined to try him for high treason‡ before his peers.

The trial took place in Westminster Hall, on the 16th of January (1572), commencing at eight o'clock in the morning, and not ending till eight o'clock at night. The Earl of Shrewsbury—who had come from Sheffield Castle for the purpose—acted as Lord High Steward.

The Duke was charged with imagining the Queen's deprivation and death, and alteration of the State and religion; practising marriage with the Queen of Scots against his promise and allegiance, knowing she laid claim to the English crown; conspiring with the said Queen to stir a rebellion, and to bring in a foreign power, from the King of Spain by Flanders, with the help of money from the Pope. And though he made a vigorous defence, he was condemned to death.§

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* A small pack horse, covered with a sumpter or burden cloth.

† Sir T. Smith had succeeded Cecil as Secretary of State.

‡ Sadleir and Bromley had also examined the Duke on the occasion of his previous committal to the Tower, in 1569. (See "State Trials," Vol. I., p. 987.)

The information relative to the Duke's arrest and examination is obtained from letters written by Sadleir to Burghley at the time, and printed in Murdin's collection of the Burghley State Papers.

§ "On receiving his judgment, he said, the will of God be fulfilled. The judgment was judgment for a traitor, but he was a true man, and always had been, and so would die, and

The Queen having appointed Sir Ralph Sadleir guardian of Mary Queen of Scots during Lord Shrewsbury's temporary absence in London, he arrived at Sheffield Castle* before the commencement of the new year, and immediately had an interview with the fair object of his charge, and assured her of his wish to do everything acceptable to her consistent with his duty. In consequence of her complicity in the Norfolk conspiracy, and the rumoured enterprises for her rescue, extreme precautions were taken for her safe custody. She had been confined to one room ever since the Duke's arrest in September, the number of her servants had been reduced from thirty-nine to ten, the sentries on the castle were increased, and the woods and moors for miles around were constantly patrolled by soldiers. Mary complained of this harsh treatment to Sir Ralph, and he replied that her own conscience would tell her that the Queen had good cause to do more than she had done, as he would convince her, if she pleased; but Mary protested her innocence and declined discussion.† Sadleir, however, was not heedless of her complaints.

Sir Ralph remained only a month in charge of Mary Queen of Scots. On the 1st of February Elizabeth wrote to him, thanking him for his "diligence and painfulness," and not doubting he would come back readily as soon as the Earl of Shrewsbury returned—which he did in a few days afterwards.‡

"On his return to Court, Elizabeth was curious to learn from Sadleir all particulars respecting her prisoner; and the report of the veteran statesman was so favourable that his mistress peevishly observed there seemed to be something incomprehensible about this Queen of Scots, who could thus compel her very enemies to speak well of her.§ It was in consequence, apparently, of Sadleir's report that some relaxation was now made in the treatment of the unhappy captive. On his return to Sheffield, Shrewsbury allowed her to take exercise outside the walls of her prison, within which she had been constantly confined for upwards of five months. Even in the bleak month of February she hailed this privilege with delight; and we learn from Shrewsbury that on the first occasion on which she walked

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that he did not desire to live; but seeing the lords, his peers, had judged him unworthy of their company, he would be one of them, but trusted to go to another. This he spake with such assurance, as otherwise truly he did use himself all the day long very modestly and wisely as ever I think his cause did serve him."—*Sir Ralph Sadleir's Papers*, Vol. II., p. 313.

* The Queen of Scots was removed to Sheffield Castle, belonging to Lord Shrewsbury, in 1570, and remained there till 1584, when she was conveyed by Sir Ralph to Wingfield.

† Letter from Sadleir to Cecil, 3rd February, 1572, in State Paper Office, and quoted by Agnes Strickland in "Life of Mary Queen of Scots."

‡ The year given in p. 118, Vol. II., Sadleir State Papers, evidently refers to this occasion; the year there given must be a mistake.

§ Fenelon, IV., 301.

abroad, she could not refrain, in the ecstasy of her newly recovered liberty, from plunging up to her ankles in the snow."*

It was a remarkable trait in Sadleir's character that while he was the most humane and considerate man of the age, he discharged his public duties with Spartan firmness. About the same time that he recommended Queen Elizabeth to treat her royal captive with greater leniency, he wrote to Burghley† a letter, evidently intended for the Queen's ear, reminding him of the dangerous practices which had been carried on, and begging him to "press Her Majesty to do justice whereby the hopes of her enemies may be ended."

This referred to the execution of the Duke of Norfolk, which the Queen, with true feminine kindness, put off from day to day, and would fain have put off for ever.‡ Sadleir's advice and Cecil's persuasion failed, nor was it till the Parliament insisted on his execution that the Queen gave her reluctant assent, and the Duke was beheaded (2nd of June, 1572) on Tower Hill, where Surrey, his gifted father, met his death in a similar manner twenty-five years before. Two months after Norfolk's execution, the Earl of Northumberland, who had meanwhile been delivered up to the English Government for £2000 by the Regent Mar, was hanged at York.§

The same Parliament, in the meantime, had taken the dangerous practices of the Queen of Scots into consideration. On the 12th of May there was a conference between a Committee of the House of Lords and a Committee of the House of Commons (Sadleir was a member of the latter) on "the great matter touching the Queen of Scots." The result of the conference was that a Bill of Attainder "touching the Queen of Scots in life as well as in title" passed both Houses without a dissentient voice. The Convocation followed the example of Parliament, and the bishops petitioned the Crown to execute Mary; but Elizabeth humanely exercised her royal prerogative with true Tudor determination. She reprimanded the bishops, peremptorily rejected the Bill of Attainder, and thereby rescued from the jaws of death the kinswoman who had conspired so recently against her life.‖

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* "Mary Queen of Scots and her Accusers," Vol. II., p. 115, Second Edition.

† Sadleir to Burghley, Standon, 27th of February, 1572. Murdin's Burghley State Papers.

‡ The Duke was second cousin to Her Majesty.

§ Burghley had again a majority in the Council, as Arundel and Lumley had been arrested for treason.

‖ Elizabeth, however, did not wish Mary to escape without a warning:—"A few days after Norfolk was beheaded, certain eminent persons—Lord Delaware, Sir Ralph Sadleir, Sir Thomas Wilson, and Thomas Bromley—were sent to Queen Mary, as we are told, 'to expostulate with her by way of accusation.' With a protestation that she was 'an absolute Sovereign,' and not bound to answer questions, Mary gave a denial to each article of accusation."—*Burton, "History of Scotland."* (See also Camden.)

Such was the troubled state of affairs in England in the summer of 1572. The events occurring in the neighbouring nations were more exciting still. In fact, the whole north-west shoulder of Europe was a political volcano in an active state of excitement. Ireland and Flanders seethed with intestine turmoil, while the events which occurred in either France or Scotland would, if detailed, furnish thrilling materials for a large volume. I can spare them only a few paragraphs:—

It was on the night of St. Bartholemew's festival, the 24th of August in this year, that the dreadful massacre of Huguenots, which everyone has read of, took place in France. Wholesale slaughter had commended itself to the fiendish mind of Catherine de Medici as an effective means of putting an end to the long-continued struggle with the Huguenots, and of exterminating Protestantism in France. The diabolical idea was inhumanly carried out, but the result was not all the designer expected. Over 70,000 persons—including women and children—were massacred in cold blood. It was the most fearful tragedy ever acted on the world's stage; yet, such was the bigotry of the period, Roman Catholics gloated over it with unbounded satisfaction. Joy reigned in the Sacred College at Rome, and Philip of Spain—the gravest man in Christendom—was so tickled by the news that he could not refrain from repeated bursts of laughter.

It seems almost incredible to us that such inhumanity should have existed amongst civilised people, but it is nevertheless a deplorable fact. On the other hand, the Protestants of Europe, electrified by the sudden intensity of papistical hatred, quivered for some time with indignation, and then settled down into a steady determination to maintain their rights and protect their liberties from popish tyranny. The toleration of Elizabeth's Protestant Government contrasted favourably with the Papist rule in France, and proved generally acceptable to her subjects; but her Council now became more than ever on the *qui vive* with respect to Catholic plotting, and the execution of Mary Stuart—"the bosom serpent"—was again mooted. As to Catherine de Medici's dream of mating one of her Papist sons with the English Queen, it vanished into the thin air; the nation, in its existing mood, would no longer listen to such a proposal.

As to affairs in Scotland, the Earl of Lennox* was appointed Regent in succession to Murray, but he had neither the clear head nor the strong hand of his predecessor. The young King's party lost their superior power; the opposition, or Mary's faction, acquired fresh strength; and so, in 1571, the two parties were pretty evenly matched. Even of the four grim castles which stood like a line of giant sentries across the heart of

* He was grandfather to the young King, and husband of Lady Margaret Douglas.

the kingdom, from east to west, two—Dunbar and Stirling—were in the King's hands, and the alternate two—Edinburgh and Dumbarton—were in the hands of Mary Stuart's partisans. Dumbarton—which commanded the Clyde, and thence the sea—afforded a secure landing place for French or Spanish soldiers, while Edinburgh Castle kept the metropolis in awe. Lord Fleming held Dumbarton, and Kircaldy of Grange (his son-in-law)* held Edinburgh, having declared for Mary Stuart and let "loose the Bulls," or the noblemen he had the custody of during Murray's administration.

An intermittent fight raged between the two factions in Scotland, and the Government party, seeing they could have no peace so long as the fortresses remained in their opponents' hands, resolved to obtain possession of them if possible. This was no easy matter, owing to their strength and impregnability. However, Crawford, one of the Lennox clan, conceived the idea of taking Dumbarton by stealth. His plan was to clamber up the steep cliff on which the castle stood, with his party, and escalade the walls by night. 'Twas a bold and perilous venture, requiring skill and courage. The rock rose precipitately from the sea two hundred feet, and at the top of the dizzy height the outer walls of the castle sprung from the extreme edge. A false step or stumble might alarm the sentries, and then woe to the assailants, exposed on the merciless escarp. But so far as individual nerve and bravery went, the men of those days have never been surpassed. On the evening of the 31st of March (1571), Crawford and a hundred and fifty men stole out of Glasgow. Under cover of the night they reached Dumbarton, and just before dawn clambered up the slimy cliff, carrying their guns on their backs and dragging their scaling ladders after them. They gained the summit of the rock, they scaled the parapet and jumped down into the courtyard, to the astonishment of the half-dozing sentries. In a word, they took the place, and the affrighted occupants did their best to escape. Lord Fleming, the Governor, was one of the fortunate ones, but Hamilton, Archbishop of St. Andrew's, was among those who fell into Crawford's hands. He was the most unscrupulous and mischievous of all the clan Hamilton. He met his deserts on the gibbet at Stirling five days after his arrest.

The capture of Dumbarton excited the military jealousy as well as the anger of the opposite party, and they resolved to avenge it by a deed more daring still.

In the following September, the Regent Lennox, the young King, the lords of their party, and 2,000 armed followers were assembled in the fortified town and castle of Stirling. Kircaldy of Grange still held Edinburgh Castle for the Ex-Queen, the subtle Maitland of Lethington

* Kircaldy married Lord Fleming's daughter, one of "the Queen's Maries."

was also in the Castle, and these two planned the surprise of Stirling, and the capture of the King, the Regent, and the lords. The Lairds of Fernihurst (Kircaldy's son-in-law) and Buccleugh had found a home in Edinburgh with their wild Moss troopers, when Sussex desolated their native valleys. It was to them the design was entrusted, and they and their followers entered into its spirit with evident gusto. A Border raid, for which they panted, would be tame in comparison with an attack on the royal stronghold of their enemies! On the night of the 3rd of September, the two Lairds, accompanied by the Earl of Huntley, Lord Claud Hamilton, and 120 troopers, rode to Stirling. Dismounting when they approached the town, they crept through a hole in the wall and made their way into the middle of the town. Their guide knew the lodgings of the principal noblemen, and as dawn broke, Lennox, Argyle, Glencairn, Sutherland, Cassilis, and Eglinton awoke from their slumbers to find themselves prisoners. The young King was in the Castle, out of the marauders' reach. Morton, with characteristic vigilance, heard them in time to barricade the door and alarm his servants; but they set fire to the house, and he had to surrender. The delay, however, had an important effect; for the garrison of the Castle, by this time aroused, rushed to the rescue. The Border leaders would gladly have retreated with their prisoners; but their followers, true to nature and habit, not being able to resist such a tempting opportunity of plunder, had dispersed in search of horses, and before they returned with their booty the royal soldiers had reached the scene of action. A street fight took place. All the captive lords were rescued, but Lennox, the Regent, received a mortal wound in the fray. As for the assailants, the Laird of Buccleugh and a score of the troopers were killed. The remainder escaped, taking with them 300 fine horses, "besides a great butin of merchants' goods," and were on the whole satisfied with the night's performance.

The Earl of Mar succeeded Lennox as Regent, and affairs in Scotland continued in the same unsettled state, until the French massacre aroused a decided feeling against Mary Stuart's restoration, while Elizabeth at last came to the resolution of aiding the young King, and delivering up Mary to the tender mercies of the Regent. But Mar died—some said by poison—at this juncture, and Elizabeth changed her mind as to the surrender of the Queen of Scots; she promised, however, to send a force to aid Morton (who succeeded Mar), in besieging Edinburgh Castle.

Meantime, a great man passed away from the political arena, leaving an indelible mark behind him. John Knox had been failing in health for some time, but the massacre of St. Bartholomew rekindled all the fire of his nature, and he preached an excited sermon on the awful event. The effort proved too much for his strength; he was seized

soon afterwards with paralysis, and died on the 24th of November (1572).*

In conformity with her promise, Elizabeth sent Sir Thomas Drury—a brave and skilful soldier—with 1500 men and several siege pieces to assist Morton in reducing Edinburgh Castle. On the 17th of April (1573) the English force arrived, but it was a month before the batteries of attack were completed and the guns placed in position. Drury opened fire on the 21st of May, and continued it vigorously for five days, during which he threw over three thousand round shot into the Castle. The old walls were unable to withstand the new artillery. Battlements and turrets tumbled down in rapid succession, the garrison threatened to mutiny, and the gallant Kirealdy of Grange was obliged to surrender, and, in spite of Drury's intercession, was hanged by Morton. Maitland, sooner than trust himself into his enemies' hands, took poison, and died as "the old Romans were wont to do." Thus fell these two remarkable men, one of whom—Grange—at all events, was a high-souled hero, and deserved a better fate; and thus fell, too, Edinburgh Castle and Mary Stuart's cause in Scotland.†

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* "The time has come," says Froude, "when English history may do justice to one but for whom the Reformation would have been overthrown among ourselves. For the spirit which Knox created saved Scotland: and if Scotland had been Catholic again, neither the wisdom of Elizabeth's ministers, nor the teaching of her bishops, nor her own chicaneries, would have preserved England from revolution. His was the voice which taught the peasant of the Lothians that he was a free man—the equal in the sight of God with the proudest peer or prelate that had trampled on his forefathers; which raised the poor commons of his country into a stern and rugged people, who might be hard, narrow superstitious, and fanatical, but were nevertheless men whom neither king, noble, nor priest could force again to submit to tyranny."

† In the previous year, 1572, Lord Winchester died at the advanced age of ninety-seven, leaving Sir Ralph Sadleir the only survivor of Henry VIII.'s Council. Burleigh succeeded him as Lord High Treasurer. In the Lansdowne MSS. in the British Museum there is a letter from Sir Ralph Sadleir to Lord Treasurer Burleigh, dated January 11th, 1572-3, thanking him for settling upon him and his son, Henry Sadleir, the office of Clerk of the Hanaper—an office which, it will be remembered, Sir Ralph held before.

CHAPTER XXII.

"THE ELIZABETHAN AGE."

(1573–83.)

After the storm came the proverbial calm. During the next ten years England enjoyed a brilliant prosperity.* Commerce spread, literature flourished, the reformed religion took root, the people were happy, and England was "merrie England" once more. The epoch may, in fact, be considered the sunrise of the glorious Elizabethan age. It was during this decade that Frobisher explored the Arctic regions, Raleigh colonized Virginia, and Drake sailed round the world;† that Spencer published his first poem, and that Sidney composed his "Arcadia;" that Shakespeare, Lord Bacon,‡ and Hooker reached manhood; that Ben Jonson, Massinger, Drayton, Beaumont, and Fletcher were born.§

It is a fitting opportunity to refer to the general character of the eminent statesmen—Burleigh, Bacon, Sadleir, Mildmay, Walsingham, principally—who, under their sagacious and courageous Queen, guided the helm of state so safely and gloriously; and I know no language more suitable for the occasion than that of the learned Lord Macaulay:—

"They were the first generation of statesmen by profession that England produced. Before their time the division of labour had, in this respect, been very imperfect. Those who had directed public affairs had been, with few exceptions, warriors or priests—warriors whose rude courage was neither guided by science nor softened by humanity; priests whose learning and abilities were habitually devoted to the defence of tyranny and imposture. The Hotspurs, the Nevilles, and the Cliffords—rough, illiterate, and unreflec-

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* Ireland, however, was in a state of rebellion.

† Drake set out from England in November, 1577, and sailing round South America by the Magellan Straits, he seized on rich booty of gold and silver bullion and precious stones belonging to the Spanish merchants of Chili and Peru. Laden with his precious cargo, he boldly set to work to run risks of capture by returning round the Cape of Good Hope, through [illegible] sphere. Drake arrived in England with his treasure, after an absence of three years. The Queen went on board his ship, the "Golden Hind," at Deptford, and knighted him. His exploits, his close escapes, and perils were the theme of national admiration, and to us now may seem like a great and proud sensation.

‡ Francis Bacon, son of Sir Nicholas, the Lord Chancellor, a post which he himself [illegible] Bacon was born in 1561, three years before Shakespeare.

§ At the same time Cervantes flourished in Spain, Montaigne in France, and Tasso in Italy.

ting—brought to the Council-board the fierce and imperious disposition which they had acquired amidst the tumult of predatory war, or in the gloomy repose of the garrisoned and moated castle. On the other side was the calm and subtle prelate; versed in all that was then considered as learning; trained in the schools to manage words, and in the confessional to manage hearts; more attached to his order than to his country; and guiding the politics of England with a constant side glance at Rome. But the increase of wealth, the progress of knowledge, and the reformation of religion produced a great change. The nobles ceased to be military chieftains, the priests ceased to possess a monopoly of learning, and a new and remarkable species of politicians appeared.

"These men came from neither of the classes which had till then almost exclusively furnished Ministers of State. They were all laymen, yet they were all men of learning. They were not members of the aristocracy. They inherited no titles, no large domains, no armies of retainers, no fortified castles; yet they were not low men, such as those whom princes, jealous of the power of a nobility, have sometimes raised from the forges and coblers' stalls to the highest situations. They were all gentlemen by birth; they had all received a liberal education.

"It is needless to relate how dexterously, how resolutely, how gloriously they directed the politics of England during the eventful years which followed; how they succeeded in uniting their friends, and separating their enemies; how they humbled the pride of Philip; how they backed the unconquerable spirit of Coligni; how they rescued Holland from tyranny; how they founded the maritime greatness of their country; how they outwitted the artful politicians of Italy, and tamed the ferocious chieftains of Scotland. It is impossible to deny that they committed many acts which would justly bring on a statesman of our time censures of the most serious kind; but when we consider the state of morality in their age, and the unscrupulous character of the adversaries against whom they had to contend, we are forced to admit that it is not without reason that their names are still held in veneration by their countrymen.

"There were doubtless many diversities in their intellectual and moral character; but there was a strong family likeness. The constitution of their mind was remarkably sound. They were men of letters. In active life, however, no men could be more perfectly free from the faults of mere theorists and pedants. No men observed more accurately the signs of the times; no men had a greater practical acquaintance with human nature. Their policy was generally characterized rather by vigilance, by moderation, and by firmness, than by invention or by the spirit of enterprise.

"They spoke and wrote in a manner worthy of their excellent sense. Their eloquence was less copious and less ingenious, but far purer and more manly than that of the succeeding generation. It was the eloquence of the men who lived with the first translators of the Bible, and with the authors of the Book of Common Prayer. It was luminous, dignified, solid, and very slightly tainted with that affectation which deformed the style of the ablest men of the next age.

"There was something in the temper of these celebrated men which secured them against the proverbial inconstancy of the Court and of the multitude. No intrigue, no combination of rivals, could deprive them of the

confidence of their Sovereign; no Parliament attacked their influence; no mob coupled their names with any odious grievance. Their power ended only with their lives. In this respect their fate presents a most remarkable contrast to that of the enterprising and brilliant politicians of the preceding and of the succeeding generation. They all died in office, and in the enjoyment of public respect and royal favour. Far different had been the fate of Wolsey, Cromwell, Norfolk, Somerset, and Northumberland; far different, also, was the fate of Essex, Raleigh, and Lord Bacon.

"The explanation of this circumstance is perhaps contained in the motto which Sir Nicholas Bacon* inscribed over the entrance of his hall at Gorhambury, "*Mediocria firma*." This maxim was constantly borne in mind by himself and his colleagues. They were more solicitous to lay the foundation of their power deep, than to raise the structure to a conspicuous but insecure height. None of them aspired to be sole Minister; none of them provoked envy by an ostentatious display of wealth and influence; none of them affected to outshine the ancient aristocracy of the kingdom. They were free from that childish love of titles which characterized the successful courtiers of the generation which preceded them, and of that which followed them. Their fidelity to the State was incorruptible; their private morals were without a stain; their houses were sober and well governed."†

The last remark hardly applied to Burleigh or Sadleir, who kept up magnificent establishments at their respective mansions, Theobalds and Standon. Burleigh is said to have spent between £2,000 and £3,000 in entertaining the Queen and her suite for a few days during one of her progresses; and Sadleir "spent his great estate nobly; knowing that princes honour them most that have most, and the people them only that employ most."‡

The year 1578 was ushered in at Hampton Court by an interchange of costly new year's gifts between the Queen and her Ministers and courtiers. This list of the presents is on record.§ Leicester and Hatton (her new favourite) vied with each other in presenting rich jewelry to their fickle mistress. Sir Ralph Sadleir presented the Queen with £15 in gold, and in return she gave him 30¾ ounces of gilt plate. In the summer of the same year Elizabeth made one of her State "progresses" or tours through the country, by means of which she became very popular, while at the same time she made herself better acquainted with her subjects. The people everywhere received her with acclamation, and the magnates whom she honoured with a visit *en route* spared neither trouble nor expense in entertaining the royal party. This year her progress was for a longer distance and

* The Keeper of the Great Seal. He died in February, 1579, and was succeeded by Sir Thomas Bromley, the Solicitor-General.

† Essay on Lord Bacon.

‡ Lloyd's "State Worthies."

§ See Nichol's "Progresses of Queen Elizabeth."

on a grander scale than usual. She went through Suffolk and Norfolk (hitherto disaffected). Stow has chronicled the grandeur which awaited and attended Her Majesty throughout these two shires. "The velvets and silks that were converted into suites and robes, that the shew thereof might have beautified the greatest triumph that was in England these many years;" the banquets, the processions, the orations, the pageants, and the presents.

She made her first halt at Hunsdon House, on the borders of Essex,* the seat of her blunt and brave cousin, Lord Hunsdon; she thence proceeded to Standon, and remained the guest of Sir Ralph Sadleir for some days. There were several members of the Council in attendance on Her Majesty, and a meeting of the Council took place at Standon on one of the days (24th of July), during the Queen's visit, at which the Lord Chamberlain (Earl of Sussex), the Earl of Warwick, the Earl of Leicester, and the Vice-Chamberlain (Hatton), were amongst those present.† No doubt the royal retinue included numerous lords and ladies, and we may assume that Standon never witnessed such a noble assemblage before nor since—not even excepting the occasion upon which, twenty-five years afterwards, Sir Thomas Sadleir "magnificently entertained" James I., when on his way from Scotland to be crowned King of the United Kingdom.

The Queen proceeded from Standon to Audley End,‡ where she received the Abbot of Dunfermlaine (Pitcairn), the Scotch ambassador; and this draws our attention again to Scotland.

The fall of Edinburgh Castle, and the collapse of Mary Stuart's cause (1572) having left Scotland at the disposal of Morton's stern rule, Elizabeth saw no further occasion of maintaining a faction there, and was, indeed, glad of an excuse to save money. The French, on the other hand, eager to recover their hold on the country, went quietly to work, and their gold again paved a way for the restitution of Mary Stuart and French influence; and at length, in the beginning of 1578, Morton found himself undermined by a powerful party, headed by the Earls of Argyle and Athol. He had to resign the Regency and retire to Loch Leven Castle, while his enemies took the reins of Government, and the friends of Mary Stuart once more occupied Edinburgh Castle. Taking advantage, however, of their disorganisation, Morton soon re-issued from his retirement, and again took the direction of affairs.

The young King was now twelve years old, and it was agreed he should be considered as having obtained his majority, and rule in his own name. Morton saw the necessity of Elizabeth's assistance, as the

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* About three miles from St. Margaret's, twenty from London, and twelve from Standon.

† Register of the Proceedings and Ordinances of the Privy Council. MS. Privy Council office. Randolph, the Government agent in Scotland, also waited on the Queen at Standon.

‡ Then the residence of Lord Henry Howard.

only means of checking the French and Catholic ascendancy; and hence the Abbot of Dunfermlaine was sent to her as an ambassador from James, with tempting proposals for a friendly alliance.*

The ambassador at the same time brought a letter to Sir Ralph Sadleir, also from the young monarch, thanking him for the earnest care and goodwill with which he had studied to preserve the amity between Elizabeth and himself, and begging him now to further the Abbot's mission.

This letter is a proof (if, indeed, one were wanted) of the powerful influence Sadleir still exercised in State affairs. I give a literatim copy of it below.†

But, despite the ambassador's persuasions and her Minister's counsel, Elizabeth gave no satisfactory response to the Abbot, and "on she went with her maiden smile," in continuation of her progress. 'Twas true France threatened to re-occupy Scotland, and take possession of the Low Countries, and then England would be almost at her mercy;

* "The propositions of which he was the bearer were more favourable than any English sovereign had ever extorted at the sword's point. 'The King' (for the message ran in his name) 'having assumed the reins of Government in his own hands,' was prepared to ratify the Treaty of Leith, to unite with England in a defensive alliance against the malice of the Pope and his friends, to be the enemy of England's enemies, of all foreign powers who sought to injure the Queen, and of those among his own subjects who were lending themselves to any such designs. On the other side, the Abbot explained the poverty of the Scotch treasury. The King was unable to maintain his own State, far less to support Border police. For the welfare of the two countries, for the sake of their friendship, for the maintenance of the common religion, and the support of the party who, through good and evil, had stood firm to the English alliance, the Abbot besought Elizabeth to deal liberally, and secure the King's gratitude."—*Froude.*

† "To our right trusty and well beloved Sir Rauphe Sadlair, Knyght, Chancellor of the Duchy of Lancaster.

"Richt traist and weilbelovit, we grete yow hartlie weill, having oft-tymes understand be credible report, bot cheifflie of lait sen we acceptit the government of oure realme in our awin persone with quhat earnest cair and gudewil ye have studied to entertaine the gude amytie betwix us and our dearest suster and cousine, the Quene, your Soveraine, and in moving of her to extend her favoure toward us, and oure estait in oure younger aage: we cannot omit now by oure awin letter to let you understand how thankfull and good part we accept the same, trusting ye will continue, as ye have worthelie done heretofore, and be a gude meane unto our said dearrest sister, upoun the hearing of our trusty and weilbelovit Coadiutor Robert Commendatur of Dunfermling, our principall Secretar and Ambrissadoure, presentlie direct toward hir, for further his dispatche, quha being instructit of our loving and affectionat meyndie towards oure said dearest suster, and to the conservation of the amytie betwix us, he will mak you mair specialli to understand be speche. We leif the haill to his credite, quhome we heirfore requyre you to credite. And thus we committ you in the tuytioun of God. At our Castell of Strivilling, Sterling, the feast of Julii, 1578.

"Your loving and assurit freind,

"JAMES R."

(*See Scot. State Papers, Vol. II.*)

but Elizabeth had recourse to her old expedient of extricating herself from a political dilemma. Her royal hand was still free, and now she stretched it out invitingly to Alençon,* the last of the French royal Dukes—time having somewhat softened down the francophobia caused by the massacre of St. Bartholemew. Alençon was a princeling in search of a throne, and deeming it wiser and easier to become King of England by marriage than King of the Low Countries by fighting, grasped eagerly at Elizabeth's proferred hand. "Monsieur," as he was usually called, was small, pockmarked, and only half Elizabeth's age; nevertheless the Queen appeared more in earnest than on any former occasion, and though she called Alençon her frog, declared she had never seen a man who pleased her so well.†

The negotiations and courtship went on for a couple of years; at length, one November morning in 1581, as Monsieur plied his suit after the approved fashion, in presence of Leicester, Walsingham, and the French ambassadors, the Queen kissed him, and placing a ring on his finger, announced her intention of marrying him; but a reaction in favour of the objections urged against the match soon followed, and telling her too-patient suitor she had changed her mind, she broke off the treaty altogether:—"All the Queen's wisest Counsellors, and—what was hardly of less consequence—her most favoured courtiers, opposed the French match with vigour. Leicester, Hatton, Walsingham, Sir Philip Sidney joined in remonstrances, and at length induced the Queen, after much painful irresolution, to sacrifice her dreams of connubial felicity to her usual political prudence. The wholesome arguments by which this change of opinion was at length wrought in her mind are well detailed in the following speech of Sir Ralph Sadleir":—‡

"First. To begin with God's cause, which is the matter of religion, it is to be considered that Her Majesty, being principally noted to be the chief patroness and protection of the Gospel and true religion at this day, and Monsieur specially noted, reputed, and taken to be mere contrary, it will breed no little discredit to Her Majesty with all the princes in Christendom to match herself in marriage with a papistical prince, being so contrary to Her Highness as he is in religion.

"Also, it cannot but breed not only great hindrance to the good success of the Gospel in all parts of Christendom, but also will breed dangerous factions and parties amongst ourselves here at home; for that our Papists, being already too bold, will conceive and take a great deal more boldness and

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* More properly Anjou, as he succeeded to that Duchy on the accession of his brother to the throne (1574).

† There was probably some spleen in the remark, for Elizabeth had heard a short time previously that both Leicester and Hatton were privately married.

‡ Sir Walter Scott. Note in Sadler State Papers.

courage by this marriage (whereof what inconvenience will ensue God knoweth). It may be boldly affirmed that Her Majesty's sister, the late Queen Mary, would not have been moved nor induced to marry with a Protestant prince to have been lady and sovereign of ten kingdoms.

"Again. If God should take Her Majesty from us in the lifetime of Monsieur—as all princes be mortal as well as others—then the Queen of Scots being here within the realm, hoping to succeed Her Majesty, who could be a fitter instrument for her to set her up, or a fitter match for her in marriage than Monsieur, which would be no hard matter for him to bring to pass by the help and aid of our Papists, which indeed do hope for such a day, and also with such foreign aid as he might procure out of France and otherwise? And so should this realm be governed by a French man and by a Scottish woman, and all our English turned into French and Scottish; and, what worse is, the Gospel of Jesus Christ and true religion should be quite and clear abolished, and all Popery, superstition, and idolatry again restored and set up, as well or worse then as ever it was. The Lord inspire Her Majesty with His Holy Spirit, and give her grace to beware of all Papists!

"Secondly. The union of the two crowns of France and England, which may ensue of this marriage, is a principal matter to be thought on; as if Monsieur be King of France, which he looketh for daily, and have issue a son by Her Majesty, it must then follow by good probability that both the crowns shall devolve and come to that issue; and so, because France is the more ample and richer kingdom, this noble realm of England, which these many hundred, yea thousands of years hath been an ancient and royal kingdom and a monarchy of itself, shall become vassal, thrall and subject to the Crown of France; whereof what may be said hereafter and written in histories to the no little infamy and touch in honour of the noble line of that noble and famous Prince, Henry VIII., it may grieve all true Englishmen to think of it—that is, that King Henry's son, in the time of his reign, being in his minority and tender years, was, by means of great rebellion and other troubles in the realm, enforced to render and give up to the French the town of Boulogne, which the King, his father, of famous memory, King Henry VIII., did conquer and win with the travail of his own person a little before he died. Also that Queen Mary, in the time of her reign, by her marriage with Philip, King of Spain, was by him and for his cause moved and induced to enter into the wars with France, whereby she lost the town of Calais, which her noble progenitors won and kept with great honour almost three hundred years. But Queen Elizabeth, in the time of her reign, by her marriage with Monsieur, heir-apparent to the Crown of France, lost all England, and brought the same into thraldom and subjection to the Crown of France. This will be said, and also written in history, to remain a matter of record for ever.

"Truly these two great causes, religion and the union of these two crowns, are such, and so many great inconveniences, perils, and dangers do depend upon the same, as in mine opinion ought to move all true Englishmen to mislike of this marriage.

"Thirdly. If the French King do die—who, by reason of his infirmity and unsoundness of his body is not like to continue long, as it is thought—then Monsieur, succeeding to his place, must needs make his residence and

abode in France; so that Her Majesty shall either want the fruition of his company and presence, or else must go with him into France, to the great grief and discomfort of all her true and faithful subjects. And in what government the realm may be left in that case, I leave to the consideration of wiser men.

"Fourthly. The inequality of years between Her Majesty and Monsieur is, in mine opinion, a matter to move some misliking of this marriage; he being a very young prince, and Her Majesty of such years as, by the natural course of the same, Her Majesty might be his mother. Now, whether such marriages be godly and acceptable in the sight of God, I am not to dispute; but sure am I that when this young prince shall be in his best and flourishing age, Her Majesty must needs be so far grown in years, and what misliking may grow thereof, and what matter of unkindness it may breed, it is now to be thought on, lest hereafter, when it is more fitter for Her Majesty to live in her older years in most quietness, it fall out otherwise to her great unquietness and grief of mind, and to the no little regret and discomfort of all that love Her Majesty. Example we have of the marriage between Her Highness's sister, the late Queen Mary, and King Philip, whose unkind dealing, even in the like case, was a great cause of shortening her days.

"Fifthly. What hope we may have of the fruit of this marriage of issue of Her Highness. Indeed, although we are not utterly to despair of it, yet can we not be in so great hope of it now as when Her Majesty was of younger years, and a great deal more fit to marry than she is now. Indeed, I am so jealous of Her Highness's person that I dare not give her advice to marry at these years; for that we have it in common experience that when maidens do in their younger years forbear marriage until they be grown in years, as Her Majesty now is, commonly either they have no issue, or if they have, the birth of it is so dangerous that few or none escape it. For my part, I am so jealous of her person that I would not like to see her within the compass of that danger. And therefore, since Her Majesty, in all the time of her younger years, could never be affected to marriage, though greatly urged and pressed thereto—a thing most wished for and prayed for by all her good and loving subjects, and yet could never be obtained of Her Majesty by any means, it is to be thought that Her Majesty now, in her older years, cannot be greatly affected to marry.

"Lastly. There is another cause of inconvenience depending upon this marriage; and that is that the same is universally misliked of throughout the realm—which is a matter not be neglected; for in mine opinion it is not good to do things to the general discontentment of the whole realm."

I cannot say for a certainty where or when this patriotic and Protestant speech* was delivered, but it was probably at the meeting of the Council on the 2nd of October, 1579, at Greenwich, at which Sadleir

* Sir Ralph Sadleir deserves credit for expressing himself so boldly: for about the same time John Stubbs lost his hand for writing a pamphlet against the marriage, and Sir Philip Sidney incurred the Queen's displeasure for publishing arguments similar to Sadleir's.

was present and the Alençon marriage was discussed.* At all events, it was plain spoken, and, considering Elizabeth's character, very clever in the way it touched all the points on which she was jealous or sensitive—her sister Mary's stronger mind, the Queen of Scots' pretensions, her husband's inconstancy, her personal danger, the vassalage of England to France.

But though the Queen's coquetting with Alençon prevented the French from overtly interfering in Scotch affairs, they secretly worked out their ends, fostering their own party by money, and spreading dissension amongst the Protestants by means of Jesuits—a fraternity now becoming known for the first time by its subtle conduct.

The well known Dr. Nicholas Sanders† had already stirred up rebellion in Ireland, and in 1580 Esmé Stuart Count D'Aubigne, another disciple of the Jesuits, came to Scotland to advance the Papist cause—by different means, however. D'Aubigne was a member of the Lennox family, and hence a cousin of the King's, who had been brought up in France; and under pretence of recovering the Lennox estates in Scotland, he made his appearance at the Scotch Court, and by his cunning and address soon ingratiated himself into the young King's favour and obtained a great influence over him. All the Papist and Mary Stuart faction gave him their support; and having gained the power he aimed at, he resolved to use it for the cause he cherished. His first act was to accuse Morton, the head of the Protestants, of the murder of Darnley, the King's father. Morton at first thought little of the charge, as he was not present at Darnley's death, and he had, moreover, great confidence in James's friendship for him; but he was soon undeceived—the King ordered a trial. Witnesses were procured to swear Morton was accessory to the act. He was tried and found guilty on the 1st of June, 1581, and beheaded next day.

By the death of Morton the English lost their best friend in Scotland, and Elizabeth now began to taste the bitter fruits of abandoning him and his party. French influence again became supreme in Scotland. The English Papists took courage. Mary Stuart's cause revived, and in the course of the next couple of years fresh conspiracies were set on foot for the invasion of England, the assassination of Elizabeth, and the succession of the Queen of Scots to the English throne. But again the sagacity of the Council and the vigilance of Walsingham‡ rose to

* Records of the Privy Council.

† The author of "Schism in the English Church"—a book full of scandalous stories against the Reformers (see p. 13.) He died in Ireland, 1581.

‡ Sir Francis Walsingham was born in 1536, at Chiselhurst, in Kent. He was educated at Cambridge. Was employed by Elizabeth as ambassador to France. In 1573 he was appointed Secretary of State and knighted. He was a Puritan, and a friend of Sir Ralph Sadleir's, whom he succeeded as Chancellor of the Duchy of Lancaster.

the occasion. In November, 1583, just as a great plot with the above objects was ripe for execution, Francis Trogmorton, the principal agent, was arrested, and when put on the rack made a full confession implicating several Jesuit priests and Catholic noblemen, the Pope, Mendoza, the Spanish ambassador, the Duke of Guise, and last, but not least, Mary Stuart.

CHAPTER XXIII.

SADLEIR TAKES CHARGE OF MARY QUEEN OF SCOTS.

(1584–5.)

Francis Trogmorton* and seven Jesuit priests were hanged (January, 1584), the Earls of Northumberland and Arundel were sent to the Tower, Don Benardino Mendoza (the Spanish ambassador) was expelled the country, while, as a further piece of retaliative defiance to Philip, Elizabeth promised to aid the Prince of Orange and the Protestants of the Low Countries in their endeavours to throw off the Spanish yoke. Open war with Spain became only a question of time.† Mary Stuart—the mainspring of the conspiracy—escaped with a warning; but Shrewsbury received orders to watch her more strictly, and curtail the comparative liberty which she had been allowed to enjoy at Sheffield Castle for several years previously. Elizabeth again encouraged the Protestant faction in Scotland; the consequence of which was that Gowrie, Rothes, Angus, and several others, depending on substantial aid from England, undertook to seize the King and break up the Catholic ministry that surrounded him. They seized on Stirling Castle as a first step; but the Earl of Arran collected a force, and, marching against them before the expected aid arrived, forced the leaders to fly across the Border, and the followers to scatter without a prospect of reunion (April, 1584).

The defeat of the Protestant lords was a victory for the Queen of Scots; for it was her partisans principally who surrounded the Court and supported the throne of the King, her son. He himself evidenced a disposition to favour her cause, so far as it would not interfere with his own; that is to say, he would gladly see her at liberty, provided she would not take the crown from his brow, or meddle with his royal privileges. Indeed, Mary Stuart's influence in Scotland had never been so powerful since her deposition as now, and the English Government seriously considered the advisability of coming to terms with her.

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* Trogmorton's brother and Lord Paget of Beaudesert were amongst those conspirators who escaped to the continent, where they received pensions from Mary Stuart.

† In the course of the next year, an English army landed in Holland, and Drake plundered the rich settlements of the Spaniards in the West Indies; but it was not till 1588 that the would-be-invincible armada sailed to England.

James VI. of Scotland (since better known as James I. of England) was at this time eighteen years of age—a vulgar, conceited, and ungainly youth, but quite alive to his own interests, and sufficiently clever and energetic to make him a valuable ally or a formidable opponent. The English Council would fain ensure his goodwill, but could not tell whether it could be better ensured through his mother's influence or by a direct appeal to his own selfish interests; for the King of Scots was a "canny" young man, and had learned to keep his private opinions to himself.

As for his captive mother, she was still as keen as ever on her restoration to liberty and power, and though the late conspiracy proved a failure, she regarded the success of her party in Scotland as the first gleam of the sun which was at last to regild her destiny. Chafing under the greater restraint recently imposed on her, she made herself most disagreeable to the Earl of Shrewsbury, and he begged to be relieved of his charge. Once or twice before he had entreated the Queen to relieve him, but he was now driven desperate; for in addition to the trouble and annoyance his charge gave him, his wife* falsely accused him of an adulterous intrigue with the Queen of Scots. Standing on his rights as a peer of the realm, he demanded an investigation.† The Earl and Countess were thereupon summoned to London, to appear before the Council, and Elizabeth directed Sir Ralph Sadleir to proceed to Sheffield Castle and take charge of the Queen of Scots. Sommer—an intelligent State agent previously employed in France—was "appointed to attend upon and assist him in the said service" as Secretary; and the Queen, in her letter (12th of August, 1584), assured Sir Ralph that "in regard as well of his long service as of his great years, she would have a care to ease him of a charge as soon as conveniently may be."‡

No wonder that the Queen had regard to Sir Ralph Sadleir's "long service and great years." He was a Court official before Her Majesty was born, and was Principal Secretary of State forty years back; he had dandled Mary Queen of Scots as a baby, and engaged her hand for Edward Prince of Wales; he had turned the tide of battle at

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* "Elizabeth Hardwick, 'the wicked and malicious wife,' as he himself terms her, of George Talbot, Earl of Shrewsbury. She was proud, furious, selfish, and unfeeling. Sometimes she herself intrigued with Mary, sometimes she accused her husband to Elizabeth of doing so in every sense of the word."—*Sir Walter Scott.*

† The result of the investigation on this occasion was that the Countess admitted to the Council she had made a false accusation. Shrewsbury was acquitted of the charge, and received a military command from Elizabeth. Queen Mary expressed her indignation to Sir Ralph Sadleir with Lady Shrewsbury for her defamatory reports.

‡ Sadler State Papers, Vol. II., p. 380. In 1580, and again in 1583, arrangements were made to lodge the Queen of Scots at Ashby-de-la-Zouche and Melbourn Castle, under the guardianship of Sir Ralph Sadleir: but they were not carried out.

Pinkie Cleugh; he had chased the rebel Ket from Norwich; he had helped to suppress the rising in the north; over and over again he had solved the vexed question of Scotch politics to England's advantage. For fifty years, in short, he had been a wise Counsellor and an active Minister of the State; and when we recall to mind his prodigious industry and ability—how "he could not endure losing any hour of the morning between four o'clock and ten; how his nights were devoted to contemplation and his days to action; how quick and clear were his thoughts, speedy and resolute his performances;"* we may perhaps form an idea of his numerous and important services to the State during the most eventful half-century of its history. But all this was not enough to ensure him repose in his old age. The Queen now called upon him, in the seventy-eighth year of his age, to undertake the important but anxious duty of taking charge of Mary Queen of Scots.

> "Far liefer had he, in his country hall,
> Been reading some old book, with his old hound
> Couched at his hearth, and his old flask of wine
> Beside him."†

And yet he was far from being an idle member of the State. His intellect was as clear as ever, he still took an active part at the Council Board, and he attended with good purpose to his duties as Lord Lieutenant of Hertfordshire. Writing from Standon on the 23rd of March (1584), he informed the Council that he had mustered the county militia, and had "two thousand men levied and furnished with armour and weapons, to counteract the daily and monstrous practices of the Papists."‡

The letters and documents relating to the Queen of Scots, while under his charge, form the most interesting series in his collection of State Papers. They are one hundred and nine in number, and extend over a period of eight months. They throw light not only on the great political questions of the day; we can gather from them also peculiar characteristics of the two Queens, Court gossip, particulars of Mary Stuart's every-day life, the current prices of provisions, &c. I cannot do justice to their contents in the few pages to which the remainder of this chapter must be limited; the reader should study them for himself.

On Tuesday, the 18th of August (1584) Sir Ralph Sadleir started on horseback from Standon. He was attended by fifty of his own retinue,§ armed with swords, daggers, and pistols. Travelling at the

* Lloyd.

† Tennyson. "Queen Mary."

‡ Lemon's "Calendar of State Papers." Queen Elizabeth.

§ All tried and trusty men.

rate of about thirty miles a day (exclusive of Sunday), the party arrived at Sheffield Castle on the following Tuesday. The next day he had a short interview with his royal charge, who bid him "thank the Queen's Majesty, her good sister, for making choice of an ancient Counsellor of her acquaintance to attend about her." It was forty-one years since Sir Ralph held Mary Stuart as an infant in his arms, and he now beheld in her a middle-aged woman who had caused greater commotion than Helen of Troy. Her *premiere jeunesse* had passed, and she suffered slightly from gout; but she still retained her commanding presence, her sweet expression, and all her fascinating graces of manner.

Lord Shrewsbury awaited Sir Ralph Sadleir's arrival, to explain to him the manner in which the Queen of Scots was guarded. Besides the numerous followers and servants of Shrewsbury and Sadleir, there was a regular guard of forty soldiers, armed with "calyvers, pertaysans, and halberds." All these soldiers wore their swords and daggers until they went to bed, and then the weapons stood at the bedside, ready to hand should occasion demand. Two yeomen kept constant watch and ward at the foot of the only stairs leading to Mary Stuart's apartments, and a gentleman porter did duty at the gate.*

Eight soldiers were always on watch at a time—four inside the Castle and four outside, under the Queen's windows. No one was allowed to pass the gate without the watchword, and none of Queen Mary's people (forty-seven in number†) were allowed to pass out without special leave and a military guard, whose duty it was to see that they had no conference with any stranger, nor received any letters from anyone; whilst special restrictions were placed upon the laundresses and others who had recourse to the town. Whenever Mary rode or drove‡ out, all the soldiers and yeomen attended her under an officer, and did not "wander or straggle" out of sight of her until she returned to her apartments. In addition to these precautions, Sir Ralph Sadleir directed the neighbouring justices to cause all the highways within six miles radius to be patrolled day and night by constables.

Such was the system at Sheffield Castle and at Wingfield—another residence of Lord Shrewsbury's, fifteen miles southward, whither Mary Stuart was removed early in September, by order of the Queen

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* Mr. Wombwell.

† It will be remembered that the Queen of Scots' attendants were much reduced in number at the time of Norfolk's conspiracy; but during the quiet time that elapsed they had been gradually allowed to increase, and now consisted of her "two Secretaries, her Chaplain, Master of her Household, fifteen servitors, three cooks, four boys, three gentlemen's men, six gentlewomen, two wives, ten wenches, and children."

‡ She preferred riding on horseback in fine weather.

and Council. Sir Ralph did not approve of the removal of his ward to Wingfield, on account of its openness to attack, and said he would rather undertake to keep her at Sheffield Castle with sixty men than at Wingfield with three hundred; but he was overruled, as the Council considered it more prudent to remove her away from the town.*

The Queen of Scots being safely lodged in Wingfield Castle, Lord Shrewsbury resigned his charge into Sir Ralph's hands and started for London—leaving, however, eighty of his servants under Sadleir's command, in addition to Sir Ralph's own armed men, and forty "handsome soldiers well appointed."

In the early part of the summer, Sir Walter Mildmay had had an interview with Mary Stuart touching the conditions of a treaty by which she might be set at liberty; but the success of her party in Scotland caused her to stand on too "proud terms," and the matter dropped. At Wingfield she broached the subject again to Sadleir, and requested him to ask the Queen's Majesty to admit her French Secretary, Nau,† to an audience, with a view to coming to terms.

Sir Ralph recommended Her Majesty to comply with the request; for looking to the expense, anxiety, and trouble of retaining the Scottish Queen a prisoner, as well as to the King of Scots' youth and disposition, the people he had around him, and his friends abroad, who sought to draw him into an alliance unfavourable to the English connection, Sadleir saw no end to the present difficulty unless either by "some honourable composition" or "the death of the lady"—an alternative of which he saw "no probability, as she appeared likely to live many years."

Nau was accordingly allowed to proceed to London, where he was lodged in Sir Ralph's town residence—the Duchy House in the Savoy.

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* "On the way to Wingfield (2nd of September) the captive Queen asked Sommer if he thought she would escape if she could. Sommer said he thought she would, as it was natural to seek liberty when confined. 'No,' said she, 'you are deceived. I would rather die in this sort with honour than run away with shame.' Sommer replied he should be sorry to see her put to the trial. She then asked where did he think she would go to, if she obtained her liberty. He said to her own in Scotland, to command there. She said it was true she would go to Scotland at first, but only to give her son good counsel; and unless Her Majesty would give her countenance and maintenance in England, she would reside in France, among her friends there, and never trouble herself with government or marriage again."—*Sadler State Papers, Vol. II., p.* 393.

† Queen Mary had two Secretaries—Nau for French affairs, and Curle for Scotch—rather representative men of their respective nations: Curle, the Scotchman, being "nothing so ready nor quick-spirited as Nau, yet having a shrewd melancholy wit." On a subsequent occasion, Mary Stuart desired to send Curle rather than Nau into Scotland, because he was more secret and sure to her, and would, moreover, "go lightlier by post, with small show, and not with such parade as Nau would do, for his reputation (example his costly voyage to the Queen's Majesty)." Nau was Physician as well as Secretary.

But while Nau's mission was in progress, papers indicating fresh treason were found on one Crichton, a Scotch Jesuit; and about the same time, Curle (Mary Stuart's other Secretary) was discovered carrying on a suspicious correspondence with Baldwin—one of the men whom Lord Shrewsbury had left at Wingfield. The consequences were that Nau's treaty was broken off, and the nobility and gentry entered into a solemn association, and "took their oath upon the holy Evangelists" to preserve Elizabeth's life and crown from all assassins and claimants; while Sadleir again pointed out the weakness of Wingfield, and recommended the removal of the Queen of Scots to Tutbury Castle, which he suggested could be fitted up for her reception with the furniture of Beaudesert—the seat of the fugitive Paget, and which was now in charge of the Sheriff of Staffordshire.

Meanwhile, the aged knight importuned the Queen in many letters to relieve him from his onerous charge, pleading his old age and infirmity. His son Henry paid him a visit in October, and went to Court to plead his cause. "I have," wrote Walsingham, "not been unmindful to put Her Majesty in mind of her promise made unto you that you should not long be continued in that charge. I have acquainted her, upon the report of Mr. Henry Sadleir, with the coldness of that country, and of the foulness thereof of the situation (Wingfield), whereby you are debarred of your wonted exercise, which hath been the chief and principal preservation of your health, which, being accompanied with an extraordinary care in respect of the charge now committed to you, cannot but shorten your days. Her Majesty thereupon groweth to some resolution to take present order for your relief, for which I have received orders to send for the Lord St. John, to whom Her Majesty meaneth to commit the charge of that lady. It is also meant that direction shall be given to the Sheriff of Staffordshire, who is presently in London, for the removal of Lord Paget's stuff to Tutbury; there will also be somebody appointed for the making of the provisions of wine and beer. Wherein, if we go not so speedily forward as you look for, I pray you to remember there is nothing so rare here as resolution; wherewith if you were not acquainted, you might condemn your friends of unmindfulness and lack of care of you."*

Queen Elizabeth's well-known habit of breaking her promise, and her want of resolution, were, as Sir Francis Walsingham anticipated, again exhibited on this occasion. Tutbury Castle was not put in readiness before the following January, and Sir Ralph Sadleir had to endure the cold all the winter, for no Lord St. John came to his relief.

Tutbury Castle, in North Staffordshire, was perched on a round

* Walsingham to Sadleir. Hampton Court, 28th of October, 1584.

rock in the midst of a vast plain, through which the river Dove flowed, and separated the village from Derbyshire. The Castle covered an area of about three acres, enclosed within an embattled stone wall, and was altogether a place of considerable extent, as its magnificent ruins still attest.* Mary Queen of Scots did not at all relish the idea of going there. It removed her from the neighbourhood of Sheffield, where she had resided for the last fifteen years, and made several friends; having, during the peaceful decade described in the last chapter, enjoyed considerable freedom—being Lord Shrewsbury's guest rather than his prisoner. The associations of the place, too, gave rise to unpleasant reflections and surmises. It was from Tutbury† she was unceremoniously hurried away when the rising in the north broke forth. Kenilworth (the Earl of Leicester's stronghold) was within a forced night's ride; and Mary feared to trust her life to the unscrupulous favourite of Elizabeth and the erstwhile husband of the unfortunate Amy Robsart.

The Queen of Scots, however, trusted Sir Ralph Sadleir; and though her son proved not to be so "wholly at her devotion" as she thought, and though Nau's treaty was broken off, she still hoped to come to terms with Elizabeth, and professing her willingness to comply with her "dearest sister's" pleasure, yielded to Sir Ralph's persuasions, and consented to her removal to Tutbury.

In December Queen Elizabeth wrote to Sir Ralph Sadleir with her own hand, bidding him to "use old trust and new diligence," and promised again to release him shortly from his charge. Sir Ralph evidently did not depend much on her promise; for, in thanking his "most gracious Sovereign" for her kindness, he reiterates his request, adding, "so that now, in mine old days, for the short time I have to live in the world, I may serve God and your Majesty at mine own home with such rest and quietness as my old years do require."

He was now anxious to remove to Tutbury as soon as possible, not only to withdraw Queen Mary altogether out of reach of her sympathising friends at Sheffield, but to have a more defensible abode and more reliable followers than Wingfield Castle and Shrewsbury's people afforded. The Earl, moreover, grumbled at still having to supply the establishment there with food; and Christmas did not pass without a fear of provisions coming short. Sir Ralph's forty horses were not in a better plight than the human beings: corn was scarce in the neighbourhood, 'twas impossible to procure straw, and he was obliged to use damp ferns as litter, which gave all his horses coughs; whereas he was informed that all Lord Paget's furniture had been put into Tutbury, that Mr. Cave had been sent from Court with £500, to put

* Tutbury Castle was destroyed by the Cromwellians.

† Mary Stuart was removed from Bolton Castle to Tutbury in 1568.

the Castle in good repair, and provide any extra fittings that might be required, while he himself laid in a good store of provisions and fuel. At Tutbury, too, food and forage could be procured at reasonable rates—wheat being 20s. a quarter, oats 8s.; hay 13s. 4d. a load; a good fat ox could be bought for £4, and a score of sheep for £7; while beer could readily be procured from Burton, which was only five miles off, and even then famous for its ale.*

Queen Mary was loath to leave Wingfield, and put off her departure from day to day, making a swollen foot a cause for delay. At length she agreed to go, and on the 13th of January the party set out for Tutbury. Mary travelled in one of the cumbrous coaches of the period, her lame foot resting on a pillow. Sir Ralph Sadleir and Sommer rode beside her coach, attended by the loyal gentry† of the neighbourhood with their retinue, together with Sadleir's soldiers and followers, to the number of about a hundred and fifty. The roads were bad, but Sir Ralph had taken the precaution to have them repaired as far as practicable, and even bridges built. The distance to be travelled was twenty-seven miles—too much for one day—so the party halted for the night at Derby. Queen Elizabeth afterwards censured Sadleir for going by that high road, and stopping in the town. He replied it was the only road possible for a coach, and there was no gentleman's house *en route* at which they could have stopped; and further gave the following particulars of the sojourn at Derby, which are now very interesting:—

"Touching the information of a great personage,‡ delivered to him by some officious officer, that this Queen was offered to salute and kiss a multitude of townswomen, and of other speeches that is said she used to them, I do likewise assure, and Mr. Sommer will be sworn if need be, I going before her and he next behind her—yea, before all the gentlemen of purpose, saving one that carried up her gown—that her entertainment was this:—In the little hall was the goodwife, being an ancient widow, named Mrs. Beaumont, with four other women, her neighbours. So soon as she knew who was her hostess, after she had made a beck to the rest of the women standing next to the door, she went to her and kissed her, and none other, saying that she was come thither to trouble her, and that she was also a widow, and therefore trusted that they should agree well enough together, as they had no husbands to trouble them; and so went into the parlour on the same low floor, and no stranger with her but the goodwife and her sister. And there Mr. Sommer stayed until the Queen put off her upper

* The name "Alsop" occurs as that of a carrier in the locality.

† Good old names—Cockayne, Zouche, Byron, Manners, and Curzon.

‡ Probably the Earl of Leicester, who may have sent some spies from Kenilworth.

garment and took other things about her. And further, so soon as she was within her lodging, the gentleman porter stood at the door, to suffer none to go into the house but her own people, from their lodgings next adjoining. And then I appointed bailiffs to cause a good watch of honest householders to be at all the corners of the town and in the market-place; and eight to walk all night in the street where she lodged—as myself, lying over against that lodging, can well testify, by the noise they made all night."*

What a fine subject for an historical painting these details suggest! We can picture to ourselves the scene as it occurred in the quaint old town of Derby on that winter afternoon, three hundred years ago:—The state coach drawn up at Mrs. Beaumont's porch; the majestic dame limping into the little hall, and returning with Parisian *empressement* the proferred courtesy of her venerable hostess; the armour-clad old knight courteously pointing out the way with his plumed helmet, and the obsequious page holding up the Ex-Queen's train with as much care and ceremony as if it were at Holyrood or the Louvre; the stalworth soldiers formed up in front outside; Lord Leicester's sleek minion prying round a corner, in the hope of hearing or seeing something to aid the invention of a tale for his master's too-greedy ear; a but ill-disguised priest,† whose rosarie peeps from beneath a military jerkin, stooping down in dangerous proximity to the heels of an officer's horse, in eagerness to obtain one glance at the blessed Mary on whom the worldly hopes of his Church still centred themselves; in the background, the homely inhabitants, stretching from the doors and windows of their picturesquely-gabled dwellings, and gazing with excitement and surprise—for Sir Ralph had kept his intended route a secret—on the imposing and mysterious cavalcade.

The party arrived at Tutbury Castle next day, and Sir Ralph was immediately inundated with complaints from the Queen of Scots and her followers about the coldness of the house and the insufficiency of the furniture. £500 had no doubt been spent in repairing the extensive edifice, and Lord Paget's "household stuff" had been removed there; but nevertheless it appeared a cold and comfortless habitation after the Earl of Shrewsbury's well-appointed establishments at Sheffield and Wingfield. The windows and doors were ill-fitted; the best of Lord Paget's tapestry had been sold beforehand, and Queen Mary's two rooms were hung with coarse and common pieces quite unsuited to her rank; there were no carpets on the floor, and not even one pair of curtains in the dwelling, nor a second pair of sheets for any

* Sadleir to Burghley. Tutbury, 5th of February, 1584-5.

† By the Act of Parliament which in consequence of Crichton's conspiracy was passed the November previous, popish priests were forbidden to remain in England.

of the beds; the beds and pillows were deplorably deficient in feathers.

Sir Ralph applied to Walsingham for tapestry for Mary's apartments, and Turkey rugs to place about her bed, while he procured from Lichfield and Coventry coverlets, blankets, "linen for more sheets for a change," and "4 cwt. of good sweet feathers."

Queen Elizabeth wrote to him to say she "felt her honour touched" at the base way Tutbury had been furnished, and directed him to punish the offenders—amongst the rest, the Sheriff of Staffordshire, who had sold Paget's best hangings. Her Majesty was considerate enough to append, in her own hand, "Your very loving Sovereign, Elizabeth R.," and concluded the letter by promising Sir Ralph that he should be "very speedily set at liberty to make your repair unto us, which as we know that you most earnestly desire, so shall we be most glad at the time of your access unto us, to make our acceptation appear unto you of your most painful and faithful service performed in this late charge."*

Sir Ralph had still greater difficulty in obtaining a sufficient allowance of money to defray the expenses of the vast household over which he presided. The soldiers received eightpence a day each, and found their own food; but Mary Stuart and her people (numbering about fifty) and Sir Ralph and his staff and retinue had also to be provided with board. Queen Mary's dinner generally consisted of sixteen dishes, dressed in French fashion; her two Secretaries and the Master of her Household had "a mess of seven or eight dishes, of which their own servants had the reversion;" while her whole party consumed five gallons of wine a day. "Her household charges and stable (comprehending therein lights, sauces, fruit, and other small courtesies in honour upon need)" were estimated at £5 a day.† Sir Ralph estimated the total expense of the whole household at £3000 a year; but Elizabeth "misliked the charge," and thought half the sum sufficient!

Altogether, the old knight felt unhappy and uncomfortable, and

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* Elizabeth to Sadleir. Somerset House, 18th of February, 1585.

† The stable expenses in summer were small, as all the horses in Tutbury Castle were turned out to grass.

An incident which grieved Queen Mary and must have annoyed Sadleir occurred soon after their arrival at Tutbury. It appears a young man who was an "obstinate papist" was confined in Tutbury, and hanged himself, because, it is stated, he was forcibly compelled to join in the Protestant services with Sir Ralph Sadleir's servants. He was probably a half-crazed fanatic; but I am constrained to own that Sir Ralph held that certain persons "who did not go to church, nor yet had our common prayers or service in their houses, but did nourish certain massing priests, should be induced to go to church according to the law, or else feel the smart of the same." There is no allusion, however, in his papers to this unhappy case of suicide.

earnestly wished to be back at Standon.* As a source of amusement he sent home for his hawks and falconers, and on some occasions allowed his royal captive to join in the sport; but some officious person misrepresented this to Queen Elizabeth, who directed Walsingham to remonstrate with Sir Ralph. The implied want of caution excited the indignation of the veteran statesman, and drew from him the following rather haughty reply:—

"*To Mr. Secretary.*

"22nd of March, 1585.

"SIR,

"Whereas by your letters of the 3rd of March I understand that Her Majesty is informed of the liberty that is permitted unto this Queen here to go abroad a hawking five or six miles from this Castle; or in sort, as your said letters do purport, if it were true in all parts as it is informed, as I will not deny that part which is true, yet if it be not otherwise taken than I meant well in the doing, I am sure it cannot be interpreted to be any great offence. The truth is, that when I came hither, finding this country commodious and meet for the sport which I have always delighted in, I sent home for my hawks and falconers, wherewith to pass this miserable life which I lead here; and when they came hither, I took the commodity of them sometimes here abroad, not far from this Castle; whereof this Queen hearing, earnestly entreated me that she might go abroad with me to see my hawks fly—a pastime, indeed, which she had singular delight in; and I, thinking that it could not be ill taken, assented unto her desire, and so hath she been abroad with me three or four times—sometimes two miles, but not past three miles, when she was furthest from the Castle. And for her guard, when she was abroad, though I left the soldiers at home, with their halberts and arquebuts, because they be footmen and cannot well toil on foot (the ways here being foul and deep), yet I had always forty or fifty of mine own servants and others on horseback, and some with pistols, which I knew to be a sufficient guard against any attempt that can be made here by any man upon the sudden for her escape,† whereof I assure you I see no cause of fear, so long as this country remaineth in such quietness as it is now. But if it were otherwise, and that any such force might be used or attempted in that behalf, as her well-wishers would desire, it is not twenty or thirty soldiers with their halberts and arquebuts, nor the small power that I have here, nor yet the strength of this Castle (which God knoweth

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* He was nevertheless content to stay at Tutbury for a short time:—"I understand that many things be out of order within the honour of Tutbury—being parcel of the Duchy (Lancaster) and within my charge: the woods and game within the forest, chase, and parks there being greatly wasted and destroyed, I can well be contented for the better service of Her Majesty to spend so much time there, to put things in better order."—*Sadleir to Burghley. Wingfield, 13th of January*, 1585.

† Moreover, the magistrates "kept watch and ward in fit places within ten miles of the Castle." Sommer confirmed Sir Ralph's statement, adding how grievously he took Her Majesty's conceit of him; and further stated that "if any danger had been offered, or doubt suspected, this Queen's body should have first tasted of the gall." (MS., State Paper Office.)

is very weak) that could defend us. And therefore, Sir, I have used my simple discretion in granting this Queen this liberty, the rather for that she thinketh herself by means of such comfortable words as of late she received from Her Majesty by Nau to stand now in better terms and to be in better grace with Her Majesty than she hath been heretofore. Wherein I thought I did well, but since it is not so well taken, I would to God some other had the charge that would use it with more discretion than I can; for I assure you I am so weary of it, that if it were not more for that I would do nothing that would offend Her Majesty, than for fear of punishment, I would come home and yield myself to be a prisoner in the Tower all the days of my life, rather than I would attend any longer here upon this charge. And if I had known, when I came from home, I should have tarried here so long, contrary to all promises made unto me, I would have refused, as others do,* and have yielded to any punishment rather than I would have accepted this charge; for a greater punishment cannot now be ministered unto me than to force me to remain here in this sort—being more meet now, in my old and later days, to rest at home, to prepare myself to leave and go out of the miseries and afflictions whereunto we are subject in this life, and to seek the everlasting quietness of the life to come, which the Lord Almighty grant to us when it shall be his good pleasure!† And if it might light on me to-morrow I would think myself most happy; for I assure you I am weary of this life, and the rather for that I see that things well meant by me are not so well taken. But now I trust Her Majesty will deliver me of this burden, and lay it upon one that can better bear it and more wisely discharge it; though in duty and goodwill thereunto I will compare with all men."

In another letter, written on the 5th of April, Sir Ralph besought, "down in the bowels of our Lord Jesus Christ," his old friend Burghley‡ to continue his solicitation with the Queen for his deliverance; and Her Majesty was at last touched by the justice of the demand. Lord St. John suffered from "afflictions happened to his body and mind," and was unable to take charge of Mary Stuart; but Sir Amyas Paulet—a Privy Counsellor, and recently ambassador in France—accepted the post, and at length, on the 17th of April, Sir Ralph Sadleir was relieved, and he bid his royal ward farewell.

But the Queen of Scots and the considerate old knight were destined to meet once more at this side of the grave!

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* Lord St. John refused at first, and only assented when the Queen threatened him. He at last escaped through illness.

† Sir Ralph bore in mind that his death could not be many years distant. Writing to Burghley on the 25th of the previous January, he says:—"The departure of my old acquaintance, the Earl of Lincoln, putteth elder folk in remembrance to pass that pace; which maketh me the more desire to be in another place, to have yet some comfort among them whom God has blessed me withall to be as staves for my old days." The death of the gallant Clinton must have brought back to Sir Ralph's mind thrilling memories of Pinkie Cleugh and "the rising in the north," as well as many a moving accident by flood and field in which he and his "old acquaintance" had been associated.

‡ The name is frequently written Burleigh, but Burghley is more correct.

CHAPTER XXIV.

THE TRIAL AND EXECUTION OF MARY QUEEN OF SCOTS.

(1585-7.)

Fortunate it was for Sir Ralph Sadleir that he was allowed to return even when he did to Standon, "to have yet some comfort among those whom God had blessed him with as staves for his old days."* Even before he left Tutbury, Mary Queen of Scots kept up a clandestine correspondence with her partisans in France and Scotland, though Sir Ralph did all in his power "to keep her more privately from intelligencies;" and during the ensuing summer (1585) the guardianship of the captive Queen became a still greater source of anxiety and annoyance to her warden. It did not improve her temper to learn that her son, from whom she expected so much, had thrown her over, and was about to enter into a treaty with Elizabeth. Every day seemed to add to her misfortunes. By the reaction of public feeling—then so variable in Scotland—the Earl of Arran and the remainder of her party who surrounded the young King became very unpopular, and the Protestant lords, who had been refugees in England since the preceding year, beheld their cause once more in the ascendant. By a preconcerted arrangement with their friends in Scotland, they re-crossed the Border in October, and finding themselves at the head of a strong force, they at once proceeded to Stirling. Arran fled for his life, but the Castle fell into their hands, and with it the King, who had in vain attempted to escape. The Protestant nobles used their power with moderation. They soon informed James they were prepared to support and obey him, if he would be guided by their advice. Elizabeth took the opportunity of concluding the long-talked-of treaty on firm grounds; its due observance by James being ensured by a pension of £5000 a year out of the English Treasury.

The truth of Sir Ralph Sadleir's dictum that, "with Scotland friendly, England need not care for France or Spain," was now forcibly illustrated.

During the year, Elizabeth had sent troops into the Low Countries to help the Dutch to throw off the Spanish yoke; and Philip, in return,

* His eldest son Thomas, and his wife Gertrude Markham, and their two children, Ralph and Gertrude, probably resided at Standon at this time; and perhaps, too, Sir Ralph's four young grandsons, the children of his second son Edward, of Temple Dinsley, who had died a few years before.

had joined with the Duke of Guise and the English Catholic leaders in a project for the invasion of England. Mary Stuart gave all her influence to the movement, and, in spite of Paulet's vigilant care, contrived to carry on a treasonable correspondence with her friends at home and abroad. The English Council, like war horses, scented the battle from afar. Bodies of men were drilled in all the towns and villages, and the country was not unprepared for invasion. The favourable turn of affairs in Scotland now put the Government at their ease. The Spanish "enterprise against England" fell to the ground, the Catholic party at home collapsed, and Mary Stuart's deferred hope of being rescued and recrowned made her heart-sick. She vented her anger on her warden—"and," wrote Sir Amyas, "she is no niggard of bitter words when moved with passion."

Hating the restraint of Tutbury's battlemented wall, she complained of its ill-effect on her health, and saying she "would die there in her bad lodging," requested to be removed elsewhere. To Paulet's surprise, he was directed to remove her from that stronghold to Chartley—a residence of Lord Essex', twelve miles off—and there accordingly the new year (1586) found her. The promptness with which her request was so readily complied with is thus explained. The wily Walsingham, on whom, as Secretary of State, the duty of detecting treason devolved, had established a regular system of secret agents—let us call them spies—who kept him well informed of everything going on, not only in Catholic circles at home, but in foreign Councils. It is said that even a member of the Sacred College at Rome was in his pay, and disclosed to him the secrets of the Vatican. He thus knew of, though he could not prevent, Mary Stuart's constant and mischievous plotting with her party, and he determined to meet her and beat her with her own treacherous weapons.

To this end he sought for a traitor in the Romish camp, and found him in the person of Gilbert Gifford—a young man of a good Catholic family, who was bred up a Jesuit, and whose father's residence adjoined Chartley. Gifford had the confidence of the Papist party, and he found means to introduce himself as a trustworthy person to the Queen of Scots, who was looking out for some safe and secret channel of communication with her friends. Chartley, like Tutbury, received its supply of beer from Burton; a barrel of the best brewed being specially furnished for the principal members* of the Queen of Scots' household. Soon Nau got a mysterious hint from Gifford to examine the contents of this cask very carefully, while Paulet received instructions from Walsingham not to be too strict in inspecting the Burton barrels. The result was that Nau discovered a water-tight box in the beer, containing a letter for the Queen of Scots; and, in process of time,

* Ten in number. (See footnote, p. 216.)

Gifford withdrew from the empty barrel Mary Stuart's reply, which he promptly sent on to its destination, but not before he had deciphered a true copy of it for Walsingham; and thus a regular post was established, by means of which Mary and her party hatched a plot and Walsingham discovered it. It is altogether an ugly story of English statesmanship, and I cannot say it was justified by the age or circumstances; for that particular plot would hardly have been set on foot had not the trap been so temptingly laid for it. It is, however, some gratification to learn that the counterplot was a secret confined to Elizabeth, Walsingham, Paulet (who did not like it), Gifford, and the Burton carrier, who was represented in cipher as "the honest man"—an appellation he scarcely deserved, for he took advantage of the important occasion to charge a most exorbitant price for his beer.

As summer advanced the plot thickened, the correspondence assumed a decided treasonable hue, Walsingham quivered with excitement, and Mary Stuart's health waxed stronger with her hopes, and she was again able to "handle a cross-bow for killing a deer, and gallop after the hounds on horseback."

In July the beer barrel conveyed to her a letter from Antony Babington—a young Catholic gentlemen whom she had attached to her cause when he was one of Lord Shrewsbury's pages at Sheffield Castle; and a few days afterwards Walsingham received through the same channel a copy of her reply, the original of which was carefully forwarded to Babington. Babington apprised his "most mighty sovereign lady and queen" of a new plot for the invasion of England, the rescue of herself, and the assassination of Elizabeth. The Duke of Parma was to lead the invaders. Babington himself, with "ten gentlemen of quality, and a hundred followers, undertook the delivery of her person from the hands of her enemies; while for the despatch of the usurper, there were six noble gentlemen ready for the tragical execution."

Mary, in her reply, thanked "her trusty and well-beloved" for his zeal, recommended the Catholics of every shire to arm, and thus continued:—"When all is ready, the six gentlemen must be set to work, and you will provide that on their design being accomplished, I may be rescued from this place, and be in safe keeping till our friends arrive. There are three ways in which my escape may be managed:—The first, that on a certain day appointed for my going abroad on horseback, on the moors between this and Stafford, where ordinarily you know but few people do pass, let fifty or three-score horsemen, well mounted and armed, come to take me away, as they may easily, my keeper having with him but eighteen or twenty horse, armed only with pistols.*

"The second means, to come at midnight, or soon after, and set fire

* This method reminds one of her forcible (?) abduction by Bothwell!

on the barns and stables—which you know are near the house; and whilst my guardian's servants shall come forth to the fire (your company having duly on a mark whereby they may be known one from another), some of you may surprise the house, where I hope, with the few servants I have about me, I shall be able to give you correspondent aid.

"And the third is, some there be that bring carts hither early in the morning; three carts may be so prepared that, being in the midst of the great gate, the carts might fall down or overthrow, that thereupon you might come suddenly, and make yourselves masters of the house, and carry me suddenly away, as you might easily do before any number of soldiers who lodge in sundry places forth of this place, some half-a-mile and some a whole mile, could come to relieve. Fail not to burn this privately and quickly."*

One of the prime movers in this new plot was Ballard, a Jesuit, who, disguised as an officer in a blue velvet jerkin and plumed cap, travelled about the country sounding and stimulating the Catholics. The "noble gentlemen" who had undertaken to murder Her Majesty, were all young enthusiastic men of family, and several of them had found favour at Court from their intended victim. Ballard, with the cunning of his order, proposed "taking away by poison, as most easy and less dangerous to the doer; but the gentlemen liked not this, and preferred to do it valorously in the garden or the park."† Walsingham was soon in possession of their secret, and arrested Ballard, Babington, and the remainder early in August.

Meanwhile, Mary Queen of Scots was enjoying a fool's paradise at Chartley, looking forward to the future with hope, and ignorant of the fate of Babington and his companions. Walsingham had sufficient evidence against her already; but the Council, justly appreciating the importance attached to her person and cause, determined to leave no stone unturned which would tend to establish her guilt.

One fine morning in August Paulet proposed a buck hunt at Tixall‡—Sir Walter Aston's place, near Stafford, and about nine miles from Chartley. Mary gladly assented, and took several of her people with her, including her two Secretaries, Nau and Curle. As they approached Tixall Park, a party of horse suddenly appeared in front. The captive Queen's heart beat high with hope—surely it was Babington come to her rescue! But a few moments undeceived her, when Sir Thomas Gorges rode up, and, touching his cap with courtly ceremony to Mary, presented the Queen's order for her removal to Tixall, and the arrest

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* The letter is given *in extenso* in "State Trials," Vol. I., p. 1180.

† Tyrrell's confession, MSS., Mary Queen of Scots.

‡ Tixall is about three miles east of Stafford. The woods can be seen from the North-Western Railway. Sir Walter Aston's eldest son Walter (afterwards Lord Aston) married Sir Ralph Sadleir's granddaughter Gertrude, of Standon, and his younger brother Edward married Anne Sadleir, of Temple Dinsley—another of Sir Ralph's granddaughters.

of her two Secretaries. She perceived at once the downfall of her cause, and in rage and disappointment at losing the game she was on the point of winning, she ordered her male attendants to draw their swords in her defence; but resistance was palpably useless against such overwhelming odds. She was conducted to Tixall, and Nau and Curle were taken straightway to London, while Paulet galloped back to Chartley, and, breaking open her cabinets, took possession of all her papers and ciphers.

After a fortnight's uncomfortable sojourn at Tixall, Mary was taken back to Chartley, and seeing that her apartments had been ransacked, she angrily turned to Paulet and exclaimed, "I have still two things which you cannot rob me of—my English blood and the Catholic religion."

In the middle of September, Ballard, Babington, and their accomplices were tried for "conspiring to murder the Queen's most excellent Majesty; secondly, to bring in foreign invasion; thirdly, to deliver the Queen of Scots, and make her Queen; fourthly, to sack the City of London; fifthly, to rob and destroy all the wealthy subjects of the realm; sixthly, to kill divers of the Privy Council—as the Earl of Leicester, the Lord Treasurer, Mr. Secretary, Sir Ralph Sadleir, Sir Amyas Paulet; seventhly, to set fire on all the Queen's ships; eighthly, to cloy the great ordnance; ninthly, and lastly, to subvert religion and the whole State of Government."*

The unhappy wretches were found guilty, and executed next day with appalling cruelty.†

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* "State Trials," Vol. I., p. 1140.

† One cannot help feeling sympathy for some of these ill-fated young enthusiasts, and more especially for Chidiock Titchbourne—a member of the old and well-known Hampshire family.

Disraeli, in his "Curiosities of Literature," gives a touching letter of farewell from Titchbourne to his young wife, as well as a copy of those lines, which he composed the night before his execution:—

"My prime of youth is but a frost of cares,
My feast of joy is but a dish of pain,
My crop of corn is but a field of tares,
And all my goodes is but vain hope of gain.
The day is fled, and yet I saw no sun;
And now I live, and now my life is done.

My spring is past, and yet it hath not sprung;
The fruit is dead, and yet the leaves are green;
My youth is past, and yet I am but young;
I saw the world, and yet I was not seen;
My thread is cut, and yet it is not spun;
And now I live, or now my life is done.

I sought for death, and found it in the womb;
I looked for life, and yet it was a shade;
I trode the earth, and knew it was my tomb,
And now I die, and now I am but made.
The glass is full, and yet my glass is run;
And now I live, and now my life is done."

Meanwhile, Mary Stuart's papers, including letters to her from several noblemen who openly pretended loyalty to Elizabeth, were examined by Commissioners in London, and verified the suspicions which the Government had long entertained against her as the mainspring of every revolutionary movement in the kingdom since she fled across the Border from Langside.

Nau and Curle, brought face to face with their own minutes, had to admit the receipt of Babington's letter and the authenticity of Mary's reply. The chain of evidence was complete, and it was determined to try the Scottish Queen by a Commission of Peers, Privy Counsellors, and judges. To this end, it was desirable to remove her to a stronger and more convenient place than Chartley. Amongst other places the Tower was suggested, but Elizabeth "flatly refused" her consent. At length Fotheringay Castle, in Northamptonshire, was decided upon, and thither Sir Amyas Paulet removed his ward at the end of September.

The Commissioners appointed to try the Queen of Scots comprised all the available peers, Protestant and Catholic (twenty-four in number*) some Privy Councillors—of whom Sir Ralph Sadleir was one—the Lord Chancellor (Bromley), and six judges, and the Attorney and Solicitor-General.

These Commissioners, attended by the personal followers, amounting to about two thousand men, arrived at Fotheringay on the 11th of October, and on the next day they assembled in the presence chamber of the Castle. "At the upper end of the chamber was placed a chair of state for the Queen of England, under a cloth of estate. Over against it, below, and more remote, near the transom or beam that ran cross the room, stood a chair for the Queen of Scots. At the walls, on both sides, were placed benches, upon which sat the peers in order of precedence. Nigh unto these sat the Knights of the Privy Council —Sir James Crofts, Sir Christopher Hatton, Sir Francis Walsingham, Sir Ralph Sadleir, Sir Walter Mildmay, and Sir Amyas Paulet. The judges and their clerks sat in the middle, between the two rows of peers."†

Habited in her ordinary grey dress, the Queen of Scots entered the court at the time appointed. After some preliminary formalities, the Lord Chancellor briefly charged her with conspiring against the Queen and England. She denied the general charge, and stated that she came into England to crave aid which had been promised to her, and yet she was detained ever since in prison. She was no subject of the Queen's, but was herself an absolute sovereign, and not constrained to appear before the Commissioners or any court; but she preferred to appear to refute any specific crimes laid to her charge. She was then formally accused of being accessory to Babington's conspiracy; she

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* The whole English peerage hardly contained sixty members at this time.

† "State Trials," Vol. I., p. 1171.

denied it. A copy of his letter to her was read; she said she never received it. A copy of her reply was next read; she pronounced it a forgery. Nau and Curle's depositions as to the authenticity of the correspondence were then produced; she said their testimony was false, and that the whole case was concocted by Walsingham to compass her death. In short, for two days she skilfully defended herself, stoutly denying the documentary evidence, and defying the judges to produce her own writing to the same effect. She pronounced the letters of the cask forgeries, like those of the casket, and her advocates to this day follow her example; but the impartial student of history must allow that there was abundant circumstantial evidence, without either set of documents, to prove that she actually connived at the murder of her husband, and would willingly have plotted against Elizabeth's life. At the end of the second day, a courier arrived from Windsor, directing the Commissioners to repair to London, and finish their deliberations there. All but Lord Zouch found the Queen of Scots guilty of the charges preferred against her, and she was condemned to death. Elizabeth, however, hesitated to take away her kinswoman's life. Parliament was sitting, and both houses were eager that the execution should take place; and a joint Committee, after eight days' consideration, presented a petition to Her Majesty, stating that "the Queen of Scots regarded the crown of England as belonging to herself, and would never cease to seek what she considered she had been unlawfully deprived of. She was hardened in malice, and so bent upon the destruction of Her Majesty, that if she could compass she cared not what might happen to herself. She was a fierce, hard, and desperate woman, and as long as she lived Her Majesty would never be in safety. She was poisoned with popery, and was burning to destroy the Gospel in England and everywhere. The King of Spain was preparing to invade the country as soon as Her Majesty should be killed, and the nation would then become the slave of strangers, the Commonwealth would be destroyed, and the rights of the Crown would be sold to an Italian priest. From the day that the Queen of Scots came to England, she had been a canker at its heart, corrupting the minds of the people. Popery was thriving through her presence, and mercy (if mercy was shewn her) would be cruelty to all loyal subjects. Further weakness on the part of Her Majesty would decide those who were wavering to go over to the enemy, and the association formed for her protection would be broken up; for the members of it would be forced by itself into a violation of their oaths. The Queen of Scots, in joining that association, had passed her own sentence; and for the cause of God, of the Church, the realm, and her own person, they demanded that a just condemnation might be followed by as just an execution."*

* Petition of Parliament, November, 1586. (Abridged by Froude from D'Ewes' Journals.)

But still Elizabeth hesitated to take away the life of a sovereign and a relative. Her Council continued to press her on every opportunity, and at length, on the 1st of February, she signed the death warrant, amongst other papers brought to her for signature by Davison —who acted as Secretary during Walsingham's illness. At first she pretended she had signed the warrant by accident; but immediately afterwards she spoke particularly about it, and told Davison to take it to the Chancellor and have it sealed, but to say nothing about what she had done to anyone else except Walsingham, who, she jestingly added, would be killed outright by the sad news. Then again she expressed a wish the matter could be accomplished in some way that would not throw the blame on herself; and in her perplexity committed a most ignoble act in causing Walsingham to write a letter to Paulet, desiring him to find out some means to shorten the life of his ward. Sir Amyas Paulet was a brave and loyal man. He had carried out his disagreeable duties with no gentle hand; but, to his honour be it recorded, he indignantly refused to obey the royal mandate:—"It was an unhappy day for him," he replied, "when he was required by his Sovereign to do an act which God and the law forbade. His goods and life were at Her Majesty's disposal, but he would not make shipwreck of his conscience, or leave so great a blot to his posterity, as shed blood without law or warrant."

Elizabeth was much incensed at Paulet's reply. She called him "a precise and dainty fellow," who professed zeal but would do nothing; and stamping about the room in a rage, she told Davison it was more than time that the matter was already despatched, and swore "a great oath it was a shame for them all that it was not already done." On hearing this, the Council acted on the warrant without further delay, and made arrangements for Mary Stuart's execution.

Accordingly, on Tuesday, the 7th of February, the Earl of Shrewsbury, as Earl Marshal, and the Earl of Kent presented themselves to the unhappy woman at Fotheringay, and conveyed to her the dread intelligence that she would be beheaded next morning. After the deep agitation which the interview naturally excited in her breast, Mary Stuart composed her mind and made arrangements for leaving this earthly scene—one of the most remarkable of which consisted in writing a letter to King Philip of Spain, commending to his liberality her friends who suffered for her cause (the Earl of Westmoreland, Lord Paget, Trogmorton, Nau, Curle, &c.); and desiring him, as a dying request, to persevere in the invasion of England, and not to forget the treatment she had received from Burghley, Leicester, Walsingham, Huntingdon,* Paulet, and Wade. She omitted from this black list Queen Elizabeth and Sir Ralph Sadleir, from which we may

* Lord Huntingdon had treated Mary with scant ceremony at Tutbury, on the occasion of the rising in the north.

infer that she considered them personal friends though political enemies.

Vengeance seems to have been uppermost in her mind during her last hours, and she determined to invest her execution with a dramatic effect and air of martyrdom calculated to awaken the enthusiasm and sympathy of her co-religionists. The spectacle she accordingly presented on her way to the scaffold next morning was meant to be sensational, and it is even still a favourite subject for artists. Clad in a rich robe of black satin trimmed with velvet, relieved by a white veil fastened on the top of her head and falling gracefully down her back; a golden crucifix hanging round her neck, and a larger one of ivory in her hand; the majestic Queen proceeded, when summoned, into the presence chamber, where she had been tried, and with unflinching countenance mounted the black-draped scaffold that had been erected there, and calmly sat down on a chair before the fatal block.

On the other hand, the officials, in over anxiety to prevent emotional scenes (dipping handkerchiefs in her blood as memorials, for instance), treated her in her last moments with unjustifiable harshness. They refused to permit her Chaplain to be present, and only allowed some of her ladies to attend her, when she burst into tears, and exclaimed, "You know I am cousin to your Queen, of the blood of Henry VII., a married Queen of France, and anointed Queen of Scotland." The Earl of Kent and the Dean of Peterborough endeavoured to obtrude Protestant devotions on her, but she emphatically refused their ill-judged aid, and prayed devoutly in her own forms.

Her ladies removed the black satin dress, and disclosed an inner and startling costume, consisting of a blood-red boddice and petticoat. Mary then knelt down, and Barbara Mowbray (Curle's wife), her favourite attendant, bound her eyes with a handkerchief, whereupon, with a smile and an "*au revoir*," the brave Queen laid her head on the block, and in a moment all was over.

Mary Stuart was interred in the not far distant cathedral of Peterborough, where there reposed already the remains of another royal lady, also sacred in Catholic memories, but who deserved a crown of martyrdom much better—Katharine of Arragon—but notwithstanding her many faults, there was one trait in the hapless Queen of Scots' character which crosses like a sunbeam the shadow that darkens her fame; and that was the good-nature and affection she uniformly displayed to her friends and followers. Nor is it to her discredit that she continued all through life true to the faith of her youth; never evinced cowardice when appalling danger started up before her; and, in the end, met her death with heroic fortitude.

The execution of the Queen of Scots removed a mill-stone from the neck of Protestant England, and allowed it to breathe more freely. The discovery and defeat of the gunpowder plot, nineteen years after-

wards, hardly afforded greater satisfaction to the Protestant community than the suppression of the Babington conspiracy, to which Mary Stuart's death gave the finishing stroke.

When the news reached London next day, the bells throughout the city rung out their joy; but Elizabeth expressed sorrow at her cousin's fate, and anger at her Council's conduct. Summoning her ministers before her, she "rebuked them all exceedingly;" Burghley she dismissed from her presence, and, accusing Davison of violating her positive commands, committed him to the Tower, where he remained a prisoner for the remainder of his life. The Scotch, who would themselves have made away with Mary long since, had she not escaped into England, were now filled with rage and indignation because their Queen had been executed by their "auld innemes." But Elizabeth sent her cousin, Sir Robert Carey,* to James, with an humble letter, in which she expressed her sorrow, promised him an increase of pension, and added a declaration that his title to the Crown of England was not impaired. Such substantial advantages had a soothing effect on the selfish King of Scots, and in after years he satisfied his feelings as a son by removing the remains of his ill-fated mother to the splendid tomb in Westminster Abbey, where they repose amid the dust of England's monarchs.

The resentment of the French, too, soon cooled down; but Philip of Spain, with unwonted energy, prepared the would-be-invincible armada which attacked "perfidious Albion" next year, and met, as is well known, utter disaster.

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* It is an obvious error on the part of Fuller and Sir Walter Scott to say that Sir Ralph Sadleir was sent to Scotland on this occasion, and that the "magnificent structure" of Standon was erected in his absence.

CHAPTER XXV.

DEATH OF SADLEIR.

(1587.)

Seven weeks after the fatal day at Fotheringay—that is, on the 30th of March, 1587, Sir Ralph Sadleir, after a most eventful and useful life, died quietly in his bed at Standon, at the patriarchal age of four score years.* A splendid monument in the picturesque parish church, contiguous to his much-loved home, protects his honoured ashes, and recording the main events of his life, concludes by describing him as "a diligente and trusty servant to his prince, faythful to the State, and beloved in his countrie."† But we are not depending on the inscription on his tomb as a proof of the high estimation in which his contemporaries held him.

The learned Camden, when chronicling his death, refers to him as "a man famed for so many and great employments of the State." And the celebrated Scotch writer, George Buchanan, mentions him as a knight famous for his valour.‡ But a contemporaneous MS. in the British Museum§ presents us with a clear analysis of his character; while the warlike royalist divine, Dr. Fuller, writing in the following century, gives a most complimentary account of Sir Ralph in his "Worthies of England,"‖ classifying him and Fulke (King John's time), as the only two "souldiers" of Middlesex he considered worthy of record.

Lloyd (who also was a writer of the seventeenth century), extracting the essence¶ from the Sloane MS. and Fuller's account, gives the most

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* Sir Thomas Bromley, the Lord Chancellor, died in the same year, and was succeeded by Sir Christopher Hatton, the Queen's favourite. Sir Walter Mildmay died in 1589; Sir Francis Walsingham, who succeeded Sir Ralph Sadleir as Chancellor of the Duchy of Lancaster, died in 1590; Lord Burghley in 1598; and Queen Elizabeth in 1603; whereupon, the two kingdoms of England and Scotland were united under James I. as King.

† A full description of the monument will be found in the Appendix.

‡ "Eques ornatus virtutis, qui Berwici publicis munis præfectus erat."—Rer. Scot. Hist., Lib. 16, 16.

§ Sloane MSS., 1523, folio 25. I cannot say who was the author of this MS., but the style of expression is like Lord Bacon's.

‖ First published 1662.

¶ The wording for the most part is the same as in the originals

complete description of Sir Ralph Sadleir on record in his "Memoirs of the Favourites and Statesmen of England." The following is transcribed therefrom :—

"King Henry understood two things—(1) a man, (2) a dish of meat; and was seldom deceived in either. For a man, none was more complete than Sir Ralph Sadleir, who was at once a most exquisite writer and a most valiant and experienced soldier—qualifications that seldom meet (so great is the distance between the sword and the pen, the coat of mail and the gown), yet divided this man and his time; his nights being devoted to contemplation, and his days to action. Little was his body, but great his soul. Quick and clear were his thoughts, speedy and resolute his performances. It was he that could not endure the spending of that time in designing one action which might perform two, or that delay in performing two that might have designed twenty. A great estate he got honestly, and spent nobly, knowing that princes honour them most that have most, and people them only that employ most. Reward (said Sir Ralph, when he was offered a sum of money), should not empty the King's coffers, neither should riches be the pay of worth, which are merely the wages of labour. He that gives it, embaseth a man; he that takes it, vilifieth himself; who is so most rewarded is least, since honour hath lost the value of a reward, men have lost the merit of virtue, and both become mercenary—men lusting rather after the wealth that buyeth, than after the qualities that deserve it.

"Two things, he observed, broke treaties—jealousy when princes are successful, and fear when they are unfortunate. Power that had need of none makes all confederacies, either when it is felt, or when it is feared, or when it is envied.

"Three things Cato repented of—(1) that he went by water when he might go by land; (2) that he trusted a woman with a secret; (3) that he had lost time. Two things Sir Ralph relented for; (1) that he had communicated a secret to two; (2) that he had lost any hour of the morning between four o'clock and ten.

"He learned in King Henry the Eighth's time, as Cromwell's instrument, what he must advise in point of religion in Queen Elizabeth's time as an eminent Counsellour; his maxim being this—that zeal was the duty of a private breast, and moderation the interest of a publick state. The Protestants, Sir Ralph's conscience would have, in the commencement of Queen Elizabeth's reign, kept in hope; the Papists, his prudence would not have cast into despair.

"It was a maxim in that time, in another case, that France should not presume nor Spain be desperate.

"He saw the interest of the State altered six times, and died an honest man; the crown put upon four heads, yet he continued a faithful subject; religion changed, as to the publick constitution of it, five times, yet he kept the faith.

"A Spartan one day boasted that his countrymen had been often buried in Athens; the Athenian replied, 'But we are most of us buried at home.' So great was Sir Ralph's success in the northern wars, that many a Scotchman found his grave in England; so exact his conduct and wariness, that few Englishmen had theirs in Scotland—the same ground giving them their coffin

that did their cradle, and their birth that did their death. Our knight's two incomparable qualities were discipline and intelligence; the last discovered him all the enemy's advantages, and the first gave them none.

"His two main designs were—(1) an interest by service, (2) an alliance with the nobility by marriage;* upon which two bottoms he raised himself to that pitch of honour and estate that time could not wear out, nor any alterations embellish; he bequeathing to his worshipful posterity the blessing of heaven upon his integrity, the love of mankind for his worth, and (as Mr. Fuller saith), a pardon granted him, when he attended my Lord Cromwell at Rome, for the sins of his family for three immediate generations.†

"His last negotiation was that in Scotland, during the troubles there about Queen Mary.‡ So searching and peareing he was, that no letter or adviso passed whereof he had not a copy; so civil and obliging, that there was no party that had not a kindness for him; so grave and solid, that he was present at all Counsels; so close and unseen, that his hand, though unseen, was in every motion of that State; and so successfull, that he left the nobility so divided that they could not design anything upon the King, and the King so weak, that he could not cast off the Queen, and all so tottering, that they must depend on Queen Elizabeth.

"Three things he bequeathed such as may have the honour to suceeed him—(1) all letters that concerned him since of years filed, (2) all occurrences since he was capable of observation registered, (3) all expenses since he lived of himself booked.§

"Epaminondas was the first Grecian, and Sir Ralph Sadleir was one of the last Englishmen."‖

"He died," observes Sir Walter Scott, "rich, both in possessions and lineage. The extent of his lands obtained him the character of the richest commoner of England, and although Queen Elizabeth was as parsimonious in bestowing titles of nobility¶ as her successor was profuse, it is probable that Sir Ralph Sadleir might have obtained

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* I don't know on what grounds this statement was made; all of Sir Ralph's children married very well, socially speaking, but none of them married a person of noble rank.

† In classing the papal absolution with the blessing of heaven and the love of mankind, Lloyd evidently thought more of it than Fuller, who says in reference to it, "though no use was made thereof, much mirth was made therewith."

‡ I cannot find any record of Sir Ralph's having been actually in Scotland after the rising in the north, though there is no doubt he guided the policy of England towards Scotland up to the last year of his life.

§ The public enjoys the first of those legacies by means of the Sadler State Papers. The loss of the second, as Sir Walter Scott remarks, is a matter of deep regret.

‖ To understand the meaning of this seemingly extravagant praise, it must be borne in mind that Lloyd was describing the "Statesmen and Favourites of England from the Reformation to the Revolution," and that, whereas Oliver Cromwell, and the other great men of Lloyd's day, caused a civil war in England, Sadleir was one of those patriotic Statesmen who had done so much to the stability and glory of the nation by crushing intestine rebellion and effecting the union with Scotland.

¶ She made only seven peers in her long reign, and at her death the peers of England did not exceed three score altogether.

that rank had he been desirous of aspiring to it. But from various minute circumstances in his State Papers, as well as from the uniform favour which he enjoyed during so many reigns, we are enabled to collect that the prudence of the statesman was greater than his ambition. In his negotiations nothing is more remarkable than the accuracy with which he calculates the means to be used in relation to the end to be obtained; and in pursuit of his fortune, he seems no less heedfully to have proportioned his object to his capacity of gaining it with honour and safety."*

According to the antiquary, Anthony a. Wood, Sir Ralph died possessed of twenty-three manors, several parsonages, and other great parcels of lands, dispersed in the several counties of Glouecster, Warwiek, Bueks, Worcester, and Hertford.

A genealogieal account of his descendants, abridged from Sir Walter Scott's notes, and brought down to the present time, will be found in the Appendix. It will be sufficient to state here that Sir Ralph Sadleir had three sons—viz. Sir Thomas (who succeeded him at Standon), Edward, of Temple Dinsley (also in Hertfordshire), and Henry of Everley, in Wiltshire.†

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* Memoir prefixed to the Sadler State Papers.

† Henry VIII. gave Standon to Sir Ralph in the 36th year of his reign, and Temple Dinsley in the 33rd. The village of Standon is a railway station 21 miles from London. Chauncy's and Clutterbuck's histories of Hertfordshire supply a good deal of information regarding Standon and Temple Dinsley, and the Sadleir family. The former contains a view of Standon manor house, as built by Sir Ralph, and as it remained till the middle of the last century, when, on the death of the fifth Lord Aston, it was sold with the manor and estates, and the family pictures and papers were removed to Tixall Hall in Staffordshire, which became the property of the Hon. Hugh Clifford on his marriage with Barbara, daughter and co-heiress of the said Lord Aston. In 1776 Standon was used as a hunting lodge, and after that it became a "popish seminary" for some years, until a Mr. Plumer bought the estate, and would not allow it to be used for such a purpose any longer. The house then gradually fell into ruin, only the part remaining which the farmer who tilled the land used as his dwelling. Quite recently, however (about 1872), the Duke of Wellington purchased the property, and has restored what remained of the old building with considerable skill and taste. The church of Standon has also been restored within the last few years, and contains some stained glass windows to recent members of the Sadleir family, as well as the renovated monument of their illustrious ancestor.

Everley appears to have come to Henry Sadleir on his marriage with Miss Gilbert, as it is not mentioned in the "inquisition" on Sir Ralph's property. Local chroniclers, probably confounding it with Standon, say Sir Ralph's son entertained James I. here, on his way from Scotland! It is about five miles from Pewsy—a station on the Hungerford and Devizes Railway. In the old dining room is a full-length portrait, about 4 ft. high, of Sir Ralph Sadleir, with a hawk on his hand, on an old panel, which was evidently removed there from some other position. This is the only portrait of Sir Ralph Sadleir I know of, with the exception of a small old print in my own possession, by Gerardus, in which he is also represented as holding a hawk. According to the "Encyclopædia Britannica," 1856 (article on hawking), "a person of rank scarcely stirred out without his hawk on his hand; and in old paintings this is the criterion of nobility."

Temple Dinsley is four miles south of Hitchen. The manor consisted of 1500 acres.

Sir Thomas, who was twice High Sheriff of Hertfordshire, magnificently entertained James I. at Standon for two nights, when on his way from Scotland to be crowned King of the United Kingdom, and thus to consummate that union of the two nations which Sir Ralph had laboured for so long.* Sir Thomas left one son, Ralph, who was also Sheriff of Hertfordshire. He married Anne Coke, daughter of Lord Lovall, and niece of the Countesses of Shrewsbury, Rutland, and Westmoreland. Ralph Sadleir died without issue in 1660, and the Standon estate, State Papers, and heir looms passed to his sister Gertrude's eldest son, Lord Aston of Tixall.

Edward Sadleir, of Temple Dinsley, married the daughter and heiress of the distinguished soldier Sir Richard Leigh. His great grandson Edwin, of Temple Dinsley, was created a baronet by Charles II., soon after the Restoration—probably in return for substantial sacrifices to the royal cause; for on the death of his son and successor, Sir Edwin Sadleir,† in 1706, an Act of Parliament was obtained to sell Temple Dinsley in order to liquidate his debts.

Richard Sadleir, the second son of Edward, of Temple Dinsley, came in for his grandfather Sir Richard Leigh's property of Sopwell at St. Albans. He was succeeded by his eldest son, Robert, whose only child and heiress married Saunders of Beechwood, in the same county, to whom the Sopwell estate consequently went, and thence passed to the Sebright family.

Richard of Sopwell's sixth son, Blount, had a son Thomas, who distinguished himself as an officer of Cromwell's army in Ireland; favoured, perhaps, by the ancestral associations which connected him with his great chief, he became "Adjutant" of the Irish Brigade in 1647, and rose to the rank of Lieutenant-General.‡ He was also, at

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* When Ralph Sadleir (grandson of Sir Ralph) died in 1660, an inventory was taken of the furniture, &c., in Standon:—"In the King's chamber." (doubtless James I.'s bedroom, and then furnished in the same way as when he occupied it), were "three pieces of flatcapp hangings of the marriage of the Queene of Scots, one cloath bed and bedstead, four curtains, a double valence, an counter-poynt and carpett of the same, one couch, one great chair and two little chairs, and a foote-stoole suiteable, one downe bed, one bolster, two pillowes, one Holland quilt, two fustian blanketts, two woollen blanketts, a side-board table, a pair of tands, a paire of creepers, a fyre-shovell and tongs, a pair of bellows, and a window curtaine of say, total value £130." It may be interesting to add that Mr. Sadleir's plate amounted to 1316 ozs. at 5s. an ounce, equal to £320; his wearing apparel was worth £100; and that all the "goods and chattels" at Standon, including farming utensils and growing crops (20 acres of wheat only valued at £10), were altogether valued at £2759 11s. 2d. (State Sadleir State Papers, Appendix, Vol. II., p. 577).

† Sir Edwin had no issue, and the Baronetcy became extinct. It was his widow, Lady Sadleir, who established the "Sadleir" (as it is ignorantly called) professorship in Cambridge University.

‡ In the Longleat MSS. (British Museum), there is a letter (No. 126, D.D. CC.XXI.) from "General Sadleir" to "Lord Henry Cromwell, Commander-in-Chief of the Forces in Ireland," dated "21st November, 1655." Prendergast, in his "Cromwellian Settlement in Ireland," makes frequent mention of General Sadleir.

one time, Governor of Galway, and he obtained large tracts of land in the counties of Galway and Tipperary. He resided in the latter county, of which he became "Knight of the Shire," and by royal permission changed the name of his estate there to Sopwell, in honour of the old home in England. A few generations afterwards, Sopwell and the mass of General Sadleir's Irish property passed through the female line to his descendants, Lords Charleville* and Ashtown. A male and junior branch, however, still survives, the late head of which, Thomas Sadleir, Esq., was High Sheriff of the County Tipperary in 1858.†

Had the great statesman been ennobled, like so many of his colleagues, his vast estates would probably have remained in the male line with the title, and the Sadleirs would now stand in the foremost rank of the nobility, along with the Seymours, Russells, Herberts, Cecils, Paulets, Pagets, and Sackvilles; but, as it is, the male representatives of Sir Ralph have inherited but few acres, and though possessing a prouder pedigree than nine-tenths of the nobility, are struggling to retain their position amongst the gentry; whilst the fame of their illustrious ancestor, transmitted from such a distance of time through a not exalted medium, has lost much of its original splendour.

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* The earldom of Charleville is now extinct.

† See Sadleir of Ballinderry, Burke's "Landed Gentry."

APPENDIX.

I.

Description of the Monument of Sir Ralph Sadleir in Standon Church Hertfordshire.

(*Taken from the Sadler State Papers.*)

The monument is supported by two round pillars, with an arch in the middle, in which the following inscription is placed:—

"This worthie knighte in his youth was brought up with Thomas Cromwell, afterwards Lord Cromwell; and when he came to man's estate he became his Secretarie, by meanes whereof he did writ manie thinges touchinge matters of State, and by that meanes he in continuance of time was knowen to King Henrye the VIII., who, conceaving a good opinion of him as a man meete to serve him, tooke him from the Lord Cromwell, above the 26th yeare of his raigne, into his service, and above the 30 yeare of his raigne made him one of his Principal Secretaries.

"The Kinge did most employe him in service towarde Scotland, whither he sente him in diverse and soudrie jorneys, bothe in warre and peace; in which service he behaved himself with such diligence and fidelite, and he ever came home in the Kinge's favour, and not unrewarded. He was of the Privie Counsell with King Henry the VIII.; with King Edward the VI. he was made Knight Banneret at Muskelborowe fielde; and in the 10th yeare of Quene Elizabeth he was made Chancellor of the Duchie of Lancaster, in whiche office he continued until his deathe. He was a diligente and trustye servante to his prince, and faythful to the State, and beloved in his countrie. He died in the 80th yeere of his age, A.D. 1587, and in the 29th yeare of Quene Elizabeth, and is here buried."

Under this inscription is the effigy of a knight in armour, lying upon a piece of stone cut in the form of a mat, under which is inscribed his motto.

Below are the effigies of his three sons and four daughters kneeling.

The monument is surmounted with his coat armorial, which by patent dated Feb. 4, 1575, is the following:—"He beareth Or., a Lyon Rampant, party per Fesse Azure and Gules, Armed and Langued Argent. Crest, on a wreath a Demi Lyon Rampant Azure, crowned with a Ducal Coronet, Or. Motto, *Servire Deo Supere.*"

At the foot of one of the pillars is the following inscription:—"Ambitioni hostis, in concilijs apertus, fidelis regis famulus at semper amator patriæ virtute crevit."

Near the monument stood the standard which he took from the King of Scotland, armed with iron, and as high as a horseman's sword could reach. [See p. 112.]

On a stone in the chancell of the church is the following description:—

Radelphus Sadleir titulam sortitus equestram
Principibus tribus arcanis, e censibus unus
Auspiciis sum Cromwelli deductus in aulam
Henrici Octavi quem secretarius omni
Officio coluit Regique Gregique fidelis
Vexilarem equitem me Muscl[illegible]ergia vidit
Edwardus Sextus Scotiam cum frangeret armis
Ducam Lancastrensis sublime tribunal
Cancellarius ascendi quod pondus honoris
Elizabethæ meæ possuit diadema senectæ
Expleat natura sua et gloria partis
Maturus facili decerpor ab arbore fructus
Obiit An. Dom. 1587, 29 Eliz[th]., etatis 80."

Richard Vernon Sadleir, Esq., of Southampton, paid the following tribute at the tomb of his great ancestor:—

Verses on a visit to the Monument of Sir Ralph Sadleir, Knight Banneret, at Standon, in Hertfordshire.

Spirit revered! If aught beneath the sky
Can for a moment's space engage thine eye;
If tender sympathies are felt above,
And souls refined retain parental love:
Listen, and with a smile of favour see
Him, who descends by lineal birth from thee!
In pensive mood, with awful tread, I come
To feed reflection at thy hallowed tomb.
Though dormant lie the honours once our boast,
Though much of wealth and much of fame be lost,
Enough of wealth remains, enough of fame,
To save from dark obscurity our name.
And when the strange vicissitudes I trace
Which sunk to humbler life thy generous race;
When the false pride of pedigree would rise,
And wake ambition by its fruitless sighs,
My conscious spirit bids me not repine
At loss of treasures which were never mine,
But raise the look of thankfulness to heaven,
Who, though withholding much, content has given.
Rivers that flow full copious at the source,
By time's strong hand impell'd, forsake their course;
But He, who rules the world with stronger hand,
Can bid new fountains rise t'enrich the land.

Oh! if He wisdom give, I'll ne'er complain
That others now possess thy wide domain,
While in the vale of tears I seek the road
That leads through darkness to the blest abode
Where all distinctions cease—where son and sire,
Monarch and slave, to praise their God conspire.

R. V. S.

II.

Post Mortem "Inquisition" on Sir Ralph Sadleir's Property.

(Translated and abbreviated from the Latin Original in the Record Office.)

This indented inquisition taken at Hertford, in the aforesaid county, on Tuesday—viz., on the 13th day of June, in the 29th year of our Mistress Elizabeth, by the Grace of God Queen of England, France, and Ireland, Defender of the Faith, &c., before William Curle, gent., Escheator of our said Lady the Queen, *de diem clausit extremum*, to enquire after the death of the late Ralph Sadleir, Knight, mentioned in the aforesaid writt directed to the said Escheator, and annexed to this inquisition by the oaths of Thomas Parsons, Esq., John Gybbes, Francis De la Wood, Thomas Brand, John Adams, &c. (20 in all with Escheator), good and lawful men in the aforesaid county, who say on their oaths that the aforesaid Ralph Sadleir, Knight, mentioned in the said writt, long before his decease was seized in his possession as in Fee, and in the manor of Temple Dyonsley, in the aforesaid county of Hertford, and Bedford, with all and singular its rights, members, and appurtenances belonging to the said manor, and being so seized by a certain fine in the courts of our said Mistress the Queen, before the justices at Westminster, on the 3rd of Hillary, in the 13th year of the reign of the Queen, levied between George Horsey, Edward Eske, William Dodds, and Henry Conynsbye, Esqrs., Plaintiffs, and the aforesaid Ralph Sadleir, Knight, Defendant, by the name of the manor of Temple Dyonsley, with its appurtenances, and of 20 messuages, 20 cottages, 50 Tofts, 40 gardens, 40 orchards, 1500 acres of land, 100 acres of meadow, 200 acres of pasture, 300 acres of wood, and £12 rent with their appurtenances in Temple Dyonsley, Kitchen Walden, Regis Pollet, Offlye, and Gosmer, amongst other things for the fulfilling and by the formation of certain agreements contained and specified in certain indentures bearing date on the 25th day of October, in the 12th year of our said Mistress the Queen Elizabeth, between Richard Lee of Sopwell, in the county of Hertford, Knight, on the one part, and the aforesaid Ralph Sadleir, of Standon, Knight, of the second part, and Edward Sadleir, one of the sons of the said Ralph Sadleir, of the third part, for the considerations in the said indentures specified, recognised the aforesaid manor, tenements, and rents to be the right of George himself, as those things which the same George, Edward, William, and Henry held by the gift of the aforesaid Ralph Sadleir, and these Lee remitted to them and quit claim for himself and his heirs to the aforesaid George, Edward, William, and Henry, and the heirs of George himself for ever, which fine was to the uses and interests contained and specified is the same indenture—viz., to the use of the said Ralph Sadleir, Knight, for the term of his life, without impeachment of any waste, and after his death to the use of the said Edward, and Anne his wife, and the heirs of the said Edward Sadleir lawfully begotten or to be begotten, and for want of such issue to the heirs of the said Ralph Sadleir for ever, as by the said fine and the aforesaid inden-

tures coming in evidence before the aforesaid jurors on the taking the inquisition will more fully appear and be manifest, by virtue of which fine, and by the strength of a certain Act of Parliament for the transferring the uses of Lands and Tenements into possession, made and perfected in the 27th year (1536) of our late King Henry VIII., the same Ralph Sadleir, Knight, was seized of the Manor of Temple Dyonsley aforesaid, and the other premises in his possession, and by free tenement for the term of his life, and the aforesaid Edward Sadleir in his demesne as in Fee tail, which Edward indeed having issue, a certain Lee Sadleir, lawfully begotten on the body of the aforesaid Anne, died during the life of the said Ralph Sadleir, and the said Anne survived the same Edward, and is yet a survivor in full life, and is now seized of Temple Dyonsley, in her desmesne, as of free tenement during her lifetime, and the same Lee is a survivor, and being in full life is seized of Temple Dyonsley aforesaid, as of Fee tail.

And also the aforesaid jurors say on their oaths that the same Ralph Sadleir, Knight, before his decease, was likewise seized in his desmesne as of fee of, and in the manor of Standon, alias Stonden, with its appurtenances, and of the town Standon, or of that manor commonly called L^e^ Burough de Standon, and of and in the manor of Plashes, with its appurtenances, &c., and of and in the Rectory and Church of Standon, with all lands, glebes, tenths, and other commodities whatsoever belonging or appertaining to the said Rectory and Church of Standon aforesaid, in the said county of Hertford, and of the advowson and right of patronage of the vicarage and church of Standon, and of and in the manor or capital messuage called Doos, or Dowas, with its appurtenances, and of and in the manor or capital messuage called L^e^ Buckplace, or the Stone House, with its appurtenances, and of and in certain lands and pastures called Stowefelde and Ponderoft, in Standon aforesaid, and also of and in the manor of Temple Chelsyn, with its appurtenances in the said county of Hertford, and of all the lands, tenements, meadows, parks, pastures, woods, and hereditaments belonging to the said manors, rectories, and advowsons, and any of either of them in Standon, Braughinge, Great Hadham, Little Hadham, Buntingford, King's Walden, Offlye, Preston, in the said county of Hertford; and the same Ralph Sadleir, Knight, being so seized of those premises just recited—viz., Standon, Doos, Stowefeld, Stone House, Ponderoft, Temple Chelsyn—afterwards, to wit, on the 27th day of April, in the year of our Lord 1584, in the year of the reign of our said Mistress Elizabeth now the 26th, the aforesaid Ralph Sadleir made and declared his last will, in the writing and form following, to wit:—

"First, I will and bequeath unto my said dearly beloved son and heir, Thomas Sadleir, all my lordship, manor, and borough of Standon, with all and singular the appurtenances, in the county of Hertford, and my manor of Plashes and Doos, otherwise called Douces, with all their appurtenances in the said county; my parsonage and Rectory of Standon, with their appurtenances, and all my lands, tenements, and hereditaments of late by me purchased of Sir Edward Herbert, Knight, and also all other my lands and tenements in the parishes of Standon and Buntingford, to have and to hold all my said manors, lordships, parsonage, lands, tenements, &c., to my said son Thomas, and to the heirs of his body lawfully begotten, and for lacke of

sueh heirs the remainder thereof to my son Henry, and to the heirs of his body lawfully begotten, and for lacke of sueh heirs to the right heirs of me, the said Sir Ralph, for ever. Also, I will and bequeath to my said son Henry all that my manor of Temple Chelsyn, in the said county of Hertford, its appurtenances, &c., to have and to hold the same unto my said son Henry, and the heirs of his body lawfully begotten, and for lacke of sueh heirs the remainder thereof to my s[d]. son Thomas, and to the heirs of his body lawfully begotten, and for the lacke of sueh heirs to the right heirs of me, the said Sir Ralph, for ever."

As will be more fully clear and apparent by the aforesaid will shown in evidence to the aforesaid jurors in the caption of this inquisition; and further the said jurors say upon their oaths that the said Sir Ralph Sadleir, Knight, at the time of his death was likewise seized in his desmesne as of fee of and in that whole college of Westbury-on-Trym, with all the manors appertaining to the same in the county of Gloster, to wit of an in the manor of Clifton, with all its apurtenanees, of and in the manor of Aylemondestre with its appurtenances, with all lands, tenements, and appurtenanees whatsoever to the same college or manors belonging or appertaining, and of an in the site of the late college of St. Laurenee, near the city of Bristol, with its appurtenanees and all and singular the lands, tenements, and hereditaments to the said late Hospital belonging or appertaining, and of and in the manor of Bishop Stoke, alias Stoke Episcopus, with its appurtenances, and of and in the manor of Henbury in Saltmarsh, otherwise called Henbury Saltmarsh, with its appurtenances, and of and in the Hundred Liberties and Franchises of Henbury aforesaid, in the said county of Gloster, and of and in the advowson, donation, and right of patronage of the vicarial church of Henbury, and of and in the manor of Twyning, with its appurtenances in the said county of Gloster and Worcester, and of and in all those tenths in Twyning aforesaid, lately belonging to the monastery of Winchcombe, and of an in the manor of Allesborough, with all its appurtenances in the said county of Worcester, lately belonging to the monastery of Pershore, and of the tenths within the said manor of Allesborough, and of and in the manors of Oldestone, otherwise Olvestone, with its appurtenances in the said county of Gloster, and of all lands, tenements, meadows, parks, pastures, woods, and hereditaments whatsoever to the same college, manors, site, Hundred Liberties, Franchises, Advowsons, meadows, closes, wood, and tenths aforesaid, to any of them belonging or appertaining in the said countys of Gloster and Worcester.

And the aforesaid Ralph Sadleir, Knight, being so seized, as is aforestated, at Standon, in the said county of Hertford, on the 30th day of March last aforesaid, before the day of the caption of this inquisition, died of such of his estate then seized; and farther, the aforesaid jurors say on oath that the aforesaid manors, &c., are of the value—— *value of each in original, but omitted from the translation.*

And that the aforesaid Ralph Sadleir, Knight, named in the said writ, died at Standon, on the 30th of March last past, before the day of the caption of this inquisition, and that Thomas Sadleir, Esquire, is his son and next heir, and was 50 years old and more on the said 30th day of March

last. And the aforesaid jurors say on their oath that the aforesaid Ralph Sadleir had not, nor did not hold, any other or more manors, lands, tenements, or hereditaments in dominion of service or reversion of our said Mistress the Queen, or from any other, as to them at present can appear.

In testimony to which things the aforesaid Escheator, and the aforesaid jurors, have put their seals on the day, year, and place first aforesaid.

W. CURLL,
THOS. PARSONS,
JOHN GYBBES,
THOS. CRABBE,
FRANCIS DE LA WOOD,
&c., &c.

III.

Genealogy of the Descendants of Sir Ralph Sadleir.

*(As given in the Sadler State Papers.)**

There is an honourable pride of pedigree which, like many other mixed passions, fortifies the cause of virtue, though it is not her immediate offspring. It is indeed a part of our nature that, as fathers, we fondly anticipate a long and flourishing descent; and, as children, look back with complacence upon the virtues and fame of our progenitors. If this feeling admits of misapplication, and becomes the ground of a childish assumption of superiority, instead of an incentive to generous emulation, it only resembles our other passions and propensities, which are alike capable of being guides to good or evil, as the habits and principles of individuals shall decide.

The following account of Sir Ralph Sadleir's descendants has been compiled from the common authorities, compared with and corrected by three family genealogies. One of these appears to have been drawn up for the use of Sir Edwin Sadleir, Baronet, who died in 1706, and the editor was permitted the use of it by Richard Vernon Sadleir, Esq., of Southampton. The second, which is fuller, though of more modern date, was kindly sent to the editor by Thomas Sadleir, Esq., of Seapark, near Swords, in Ireland. The third is that of the representative of the baronial family of Aston, drawn up by Edmund Lodge, Esq. These pedigrees agree in general, but such discrepancies as occur between them are noted below.

Sadleir of Standon.

1. Sir Ralph Sadleir married Elen. Barre, aliter Mitchell, a near relative to Lord Cromwell, by whom he had issue three sons—viz., Thomas, Edward of Temple Dinesley (from whom the families of Sadleir of Sopwell, Wiltshire,† and Sopwell in Ireland, are descended), and Henry of Everly,‡ near Hungerford, in Wiltshire; and four daughters—namely, Anne, married to Sir George Horsey, of Digwell; Mary, married to Thomas Bollys, aliter Bowles, of Wallington; Jane, married to Edward Baesh, of Stansted, Esq.; and Dorothy, who married Edward Elrington, of Berstall, county of Berks. He died 30th March, 1587.

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* The genealogy given in the Sadler State Papers is apparently the joint production of Sir Walter Scott and Mr. Clifford.—F. S. S.

† A Mr. Sadleir, apparently of Wiltshire, wrote a short article entitled "Memoirs of Sir Ralph Sadleir," in the "Gentleman's Magazine," 1782, in which he said "that having formed an idea, grounded on the similarity of the name, and on one of those traditions that so frequently pass current in families, unexamined, from generation to generation," that Sir Ralph was an ancestor of his, he made inquiry, but did not find such was the case, but he found a well authenticated pedigree of his own family, which probably began "several years before the existence of Sir Ralph."—F. S. S.

‡ A Richard Sadleir presented a MS. treatise on horsemanship to his father, Sir Ralph, in 1587, as a new year's gift; and in the dedication he thanks Sir Ralph for his knowledge of horsemanship, as well as for the liberal education he had received at Padua in Italy, at Cambridge, and in Germany. Clutterbuck thinks he was illegitimate.—F. S. S.

2. Sir Thomas Sadleir, his eldest son and heir, was sheriff of the county of Herts in 37th Eliz. He first married Ursula, daughter and co-heir of Sir Henry Sherrington, of Lacock, in the county of Wilts, by whom he had no issue. By his second wife, Gertrude, daughter of Robert Markham, of Cotham, in Nottinghamshire, he had issue one son, Ralph, and one daughter, Gertrude. James I., on his journey from Scotland to London, A.D. 1603, was magnificently entertained by him at Standon for two nights successively. He died 6th January, 1606; and the following inscription was placed on his monument at Standon :—

D. O. M.

ET

Memoriæ Thomæ Sadleiri, Equitis Aurati
Hic situs obdormit Christo, Christoque resurgat
Thomas Sadleirus stemmate claris eques
Quo micuere simul bonitas, prudentia, candor,
Cum probitate pudor, cum pietate fides.
Hæc illum decorant, hæc sunt monumenta sepulto
Qui Tumulo decus est et fuit ante suis
Attamen hoc posuit monumentum filius illi
Ut constet pietas officiosa patri.

Under this inscription lies a knight in armour, with a lady on his right hand, and two lions rampant at their feet. The effigies of his son and daughter are placed under them, upon their knees, with this inscription between them, on the side of the monument :—"Here resteth, in sure hope of resurrection in Christ, Sir Thomas Sadleir of Standon, Knight, son and heir of the Right Hon. Sir Ralph Sadleir, Knight Banneret, Privy Counsellor to three princes of the land; which Sir Thomas lived in honourable reputation for his religion, justice, bounty, love to his country, favour of learning, and all other virtues; and as he lived he ended his life most christianly, leaving Ralph and Gertrude, by Gertrude his wife, daughter of Robert Markham, in the county of Nottingham, Esq. To whose memory, Ralph, his sorrowfull son, in dutifull affection, erected this monument as his last duty. He departed this world 5th January, 1606."

3. Ralph Sadleir,* his only son and heir, succeeded him. He married Anne Paston, eldest daughter of Sir Edward Coke (Lord Lovall), by his first marriage with Bridget, daughter and co-heir of John Paston, of Huntingfield, in Suffolk, third son of Sir William Paston of Paston, Knight, whose portion amounted to £30,000, and who was related to many noble families; her aunt Eleanor, sister to her father, being married to Thomas Earl of Rutland, by whom she had Henry Earl of Rutland; Gertrude married to George Talbot, Earl of Shrewsbury; Anne to Henry Nevil, Earl of Westmoreland; and Frances, wife to Henry Nevil, Lord Abergavenny. Ralph Sadleir died without issue 12th February, 1660. No monument has been erected for him, unless it was one that stands at the east side of the chancel, of which the brass has been taken away. But in the vestry a small monument of black and

* Isaac Walton thus refers to Ralph Sadleir in his "Complete Angler" :—"To-morrow morning we shall meet a pack of otter dogs of noble Mr. Sadleir's, on Amwell Hill, who will be there so early that they intend to prevent the sun rising."—F. S. S.

white marble is placed in the wall, bearing the following inscription :—"Here lieth the body of Anne Coke,* eldest daughter of Sir Edward Coke, Knight, Lord Chief Justice of the Common Pleas, by his first and best wife Bridget Paston, daughter and heir of John Paston, of Norfolk, Esq. At the age of fifteen she was married, in 1601, to Ralph Sadleir, of Standon, in Hertfordshire. She lived his wife 59 years and odd months. She survived him, and here lies in assured hope of a joyful resurrection."

His sister Gertrude succeeded as heir to Ralph Sadleir, on his death *sans* issue. She married Sir Walter Aston, of Tixall, in Staffordshire, Bart.—one of the first created baronets, and raised to the dignity of Baron Aston of Forfar, in the kingdom of Scotland, on the 8th of November, 1627.

Sadleir of Temple Dinesley in Hertfordshire.

2. Edward Sadleir, of Temple Dinesley, in Hertfordshire, the second son of Sir Ralph Sadleir, Knight Banneret, married Anne, daughter of Sir Richard Leigh, Knight, of Sopwell, near St. Alban's, county of Hertford, to whom she was sole heiress, after the death of Dame Mary, relict of Sir Humphrey Coningsby, Knight, her other sister, without issue. He thus acquired a very large inheritance, together with the addition of the bearings of Chute and Trott, besides her paternal coat, now worn by this branch of the family. He had issue (as appears by writt de inquisitione post mortem, at Hertford, 2nd December, 35th Eliz.)—(1) Leigh, of Temple Dennesley and Aspley Guise; (2) Richard, of Sopwell, ancestor of the branch of Sopwell, in Ireland; (3, 4) Edward and Thomas, who died unmarried. Edward Sadleir died 4th April, 26th Eliz., in the lifetime of his father Sir Ralph, leaving Ann his wife, who soon after married Ralph Norwich, Esq., but had no issue.

3. Leigh Sadleir, his eldest son, succeeded him at Temple Dinesley, and married Elizabeth, daughter of — Pascall, in Essex, gentleman, by whom he had Thomas and Ann. The latter married the Honourable Edward Aston, brother of Walter Lord Aston.

4. Thomas Leigh Sadleir, married Frances Berry, of Bickering Park, county of Bedford, by whom he had issue four-and-twenty children, whereof eight sons and five daughters are upon record in the Herald's Office—viz., (1) Thomas, who died under age; (2) Edwin, (3) Ralph, who died unmarried; (4) Leigh; (5) Edward, who died without issue; (6) William, (7) Richard, and (8) Robert, who both died without issue. The daughters, Elizabeth, Frances, Anne, Jane, and Sarah. Thomas Sadleir, Esq., was trained up to the study of the laws, in the Inner Temple, and rose to the dignity of Sergeant of Laws and Justice of Quorum for the County of Bedford, where,

* According to the writer in the "Gentleman's Magazine," 1782. Ralph Sadleir lived with his wife Anne Coke "in good correspondence 59 years in the same house, yet, according to the tradition of the neighbourhood, never bedded her; and from some very observable peculiarities in her epitaph (above given) one might be led to infer that his wife acknowledged and felt the truth of the tradition."—F. S. S.

till the time of his death, he usually resided. He lived in the intimacy of Francis Earl of Bedford, and died in his 70th year of age, 1658. His wife, Frances, survived him many years.

5. Edwin, his second son, married Elizabeth, eldest daughter of Sir Walter Walker, Knight, Doctor of Laws, by whom he had issue four sons and two daughters—viz., (1) Walter and (2) Ralph, who both died young; (3) Edwin; (4) Thomas, died under age; Mary, married to Edward Brereton, eldest son of Edward Brereton, of Burhas, in county of Denbigh, Esq.; and Elizabeth, who died under age. He sometime studied the laws in the Inner Temple, was afterwards commander of a troop of horse,* and subsequently justice of peace for the county of Bedford. From thence he removed to Temple Dinesley, was created baronet, by letters patent, dated 3rd Dec., 15th Car. II., and died A.D. 1672.

6. Edwin, his third son, succeeded to the honours and estate. He married Mary, relict of William Croon, M.D., and co-heir of John Lorimer, citizen and apothecary of London, who fined for alderman of that city. He died 30th Sept., 1706, without issue.†

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* Probably in the royal army.—F. S. S.

† The following extract from the manuscripts of Anthony a. Wood, relates to the armorial bearing of this Sir Edwin Sadleir, Baronet (MS. of Anthony a. Wood, marked F. 3, fo. 57):—"Or., a lyon rampant, pr. Fess azure and gules, is the coate of Sir Edwin Sadleir, late of Temple Dinesley, in the county of Hertford, and now of London, Baronet; who married Mary, daughter and co-heir of John Lorymer, citizen and apothecary of London; deseended of the ancient family of Lorymer, in Hampshire. He was fourth son and heir to Sir Edwin Sadleir, of Temple Dinesley aforesaid, created baronet by King Charles II., the 3rd of December, 1661; which Sir Edwin last mentioned was second son and heir to Thomas Leigh Sadleir, of Aspley-Guise, in the county of Bedford, who was much esteemed for his profound learning and knowledge.

"This Thomas Leigh was the only son and heir of Leigh Sadleir, who was eldest son and heir of Edward Sadleir, of Temple Dinesley and Aspley aforesaid, who took to wife Anne, daughter and sole heir of Sir Richard a. Leigh, an eminent warrior and favourite of King Henry VIII., and in her right had great possessions.

"This Edward was a younger brother to Sir Thomas Sadleir, who for two nights magnificently entertained King James I. and his royal train at his seat at Standon, in the said county of Hertford, when he came to the possession of the crown of England. Sir Thomas left but one son, Ralph Sadleir, of Standon aforesaid, much famed for his hospitality and bounty, who died without issue.

"The above-mentioned Edward was second son to Sir Ralph Sadleir, created Knight Banneret (in way of reward) at the battle of Muscleborough, near Edinburgh, in Scotland (the last of that order created for service performed against a common enemy). He was brought up under, and secretary to, the politick Thomas Cromwell, Earle of Essex, one of the Principal Secretaries of State to King Henery the Eighth; which said prince conferred the same post on the said Sir Ralph, and made him one of his Privy Councell in the 30th year of his reign: and relyed much upon his advice in matters of the greatest importance—especially in the affairs between England and Scotland, in which he employed him in diverse embassies of the most weighty concearne, both in war and peace. As a further mark of his royal favour (he) made him one of the supervisors of his will. In King Edward the Sixth's time, he held the same place, and high esteem; but in Queen Mary's reign resigned, and dwelt private at his seat at Standon.

"In the first of Queen Elizabeth, he was again sworne one of the Privy Councell; and in

5. Leigh, fourth son of Thomas (and brother to Edwin, first baronet), married Mary, daughter of George Haddon, of Kingham, county of Oxen, by whom he had one son George, and one daughter Mary; who married — Gillet.*

6. George, his only son, married Jane, daughter and co-heir of Francis Styleman, of London, and had issue, George and Jane. He died in London, A.D. 1746.

7. George married Charlotte Luey, only daughter of Major William Cleland, who died in the East Indies. This George also died in his passage from thence in 1752.

5. William, sixth son of Thomas (and brother to the first Sir Edwin), married Sarah, daughter of Jasper Symonds, rector of Daventry, county of Northampton, and had issue three sons—Thomas, Ralph, and Francis.

6. Thomas, eldest son of William, married Mary, daughter of Robert Smith, of Bolton, in Bedfordshire, and had issue, Robert and James.

7. Robert, his eldest son, married Frances, daughter of William Hancock,

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the tenth made Chancellor of the Dutchey of Lancaster; which stations he held to his decease. He was Privy Councellor for above 30 years, in the several reigns of Henery the VIII., Edward the VI., and Queen Elizabeth; and, for the most part of the time, a constant member of Parliament for the county of Hertford, and allways faithfull to his prince and countrey, and a great promoter of the reformation of the Church of England. He died, aged 80, at Standon; possessed a noble estate, which he had got honestly, enjoyed honourably, and then left intire to his posterity—viz., twenty-three manors, several parsonages, and other great parcels of land, dispersed in (the) several counties of Gloucester, Warwick, Bucks, Worcester, and Hertford. Being descended of an ancient family, seated at Hackney, in the county of Middlesex, and where himself was borne.

"George Sadleir, of Aspley Guise, aforesaid, is also of the same family; being only son and heir of Leigh Sadleir, who was son of Leigh, fourth son of the above-mentioned Thomas Leigh Sadleir. The said George intermarried with Jane Stileman, niece of John Stileman, of London, merchant, by whom he had issue George and Jane.

"The above-mentioned coate was an alteration from another too much confused mixture of too many things in one shield, by Robert Cook Clarencieux, and William Flower Norry, who ratified and assigned the said coate the 11th Feby., 1575, in the 18th year of the reign of Queen Elizabeth (in lieu of the aforementioned confused bearing, which was granted by Christopher Barker Garter, by his letters patent, dated the 11th May, in the 34th year of the reign of King Henery the VIII.), to Sir Ralph Sadleir, of Standon, in the county of Hertford, Knight, made banneret at the battle of Muscleborough, in Scotland, and at the date hereof Chancellor of the Dutchey of Lancaster, and one of the Queen's most honourable Privy Council, who had enjoyed the said alteration."

* This is the account given in the genealogy of Mr. Sadleir, of Southampton. In that of the Irish branch, Leigh Sadleir, fourth son of Thomas, is said to have had issue one son, Leigh Sadleir, who was living in 1672, in London, and married to Mary Haddon, daughter of George Haddon, of Kingham, Co. Oxon, by whom he had three sons—Thomas, Ralph, and William; of whose progeny the genealogists profess themselves ignorant, but suppose them to have been the ancestors of three distinct descendants of Sir Ralph Sadleir, one of which is settled at Aspley Guise, one in Warwickshire, and the third in Hampshire. (See the extract from Anthony Wood, in the preceding note.)

of Southampton, by whom he had one son James, who died at Pennington, near Lymington, 24 Feby. 1788, without issue. Robert, secondly, married Elizabeth, younger daughter of Robert Vernon, alderman, of Southampton, and had issue by her three sons and one daughter—viz., (1) Robert Smith, died young; (2) Richard Vernon; (3) Thomas, who died 12th October, 1785, without issue. Robert Sadleir died in August, 1778, in the 89th year of his age.

8. Richard Vernon Sadleir, his second son, a widower of great age, living at Southampton, is the present [1809] male representative of the family.*

Sadleir of Sopwell, in Ireland.

3. Richard Sadleir, of Sopwellbury, second son of Edward Sadleir, of Temple Dinesley, and grandson to Sir Ralph, married Joyce, daughter of Robert Honeywood, of Charing, in Kent. He died in 1624,† and had issue (1) Robert, (2) Ralphael,‡ and (3) Richard, died unmarried—the latter in 1669; (4) Thomas, (5) Edward, (6) Blount, (7) Henry, who died without issue; and three daughters—Mary, Dorothy, and Margaret.

4. His eldest son, Robert Sadleir, married Helen Dickenson, daughter of Thomas Dickenson, of Hollingden, county of Middlesex, and died 21st Car. II., leaving an only daughter—viz., Helen Sadleir, who married Thomas Saunders, of Beechwood, county of Herts, by whom she had an only daughter—namely, Anne—who married Edward Seabright, of Bessford, Esq.§

Thomas Sadleir, fourth son of Richard, died, leaving two daughters, Elizabeth and Alice. The latter married — Hosse, Esq.‖

Edward Sadleir, fifth son of Richard, married Susan, daughter of Frances Underwood, of Whittlesey, in the Isle of Ely. According to the genealogy transmitted from Ireland, where the name of his wife is not mentioned, he had two daughters—viz., Anne, married to — Peapis, Esq., and another married to — Leaver. The genealogy of Mr. Sadleir, of Southampton, gives him four daughters, but does not mention their names.

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* See Moody, of Apsley Guise, Burke's "Landed Gentry."—F. S. S.

† Interred in St. Peter's Church, St. Alban's.—F. S. S.

‡ Raphael, and the three daughters, are not mentioned in the genealogy of Mr. Sadleir of Southampton.

§ This is the account given in the genealogy of the Irish branch. According to that quoted in the preceding note, this Robert married Ellen, daughter of Thomas Bancroft, of Satonhouse, in Norfolk, and had issue three sons—Edward, Robert, and Thomas—who all died without issue.

‖ According to the Southampton genealogy, Thomas married Ann, daughter of — Goodrich, of St. Alban's, relict of — Stead, Hertfordshire; and had issue one son, Thomas, of Ballingarry and Kilnalagh, county of Tipperary, in Ireland. The grandson of the latter married Frances, daughter of Robert Olliver, of Clonel, county of Limerick, Ireland, and had issue three sons—Thomas, living in 1692, at the age of 12 years; Charles, then 8 years old; and Robert, then 6 years old; and three daughters, who were all unmarried in 1692.

Blount, sixth son to the said Richard Sadleir (styled in the will of his father, citizen of London), married Mary, daughter of Thomas Sharp, of London. He left issue, according to the genealogy of the Irish branch, one son, viz :—

5. Thomas Sadleir, who was Lieutenant-General and Adjutant of the Irish Brigade, A.D., 1647. He married — Honiwood, and went over to Ireland with Oliver Cromwell. A patent dated 19th Car. II., granting lands in the county of Tipperary, to Colonel Sadleir, is in the possession of his descendant, the Earl of Charleville. It directs that the lands of Killnalagha should thenceforth bear the name of Sopwell Hall.* He was Knight of the County of Tipperary till his death, which happened about the year 1692. He left issue one son, Thomas, and four daughters—(1) Judith, married to John Briggs, of Dunstable, county of Bedford, and of Castletown,† county of Tipperary. His second daughter married Colonel Daniel Abbot, of Nenagh, in the same county. The third married Henry Foxwell, aliter Fox, of Foxglade, county of Ebor. and of Graigne, in the county of Tipperary. The fourth married — Ormsby, of the same county.

6. Thomas Sadleir, only son of the above, married Mary Oliver, daughter to Charles Oliver, of Kilmallock, county of Limerick, and died A.D. 1710, leaving issue Thomas, Charles, and Robert; and two daughters—Bridget, who died unmarried, and Anne, married to William Vaughan, of Golden Grove, in the King's County, Ireland.

7. Thomas Sadleir, his eldest son, married Katherine Tilson, and had issue Francis—his only son.

8. Francis married Catherine Wall, daughter of William Wall, of Coolnamuck, county of Waterford. He died 14th December, 1797, and left issue two daughters, viz. :—

9. (1) Mary Sadleir, married to Frederick Trench, of Woodlawn, county of Galway, in Ireland, whose son is the present Lord Ashtown.

9. (2) Katherine Sadleir, married first to William Charles Bury, of Charleville, King's County, whose son is the present Lord Charleville;‡ and, secondly, to Henry Pretty, of Killboy, county of Tipperary; by whom she had issue Henry, now Lord Donally.

7. Charles Sadleir, second son of Thomas, married Margery Baldwin, daughter of Thomas Baldwin, of Corolanty, in the King's County, Esq., and died in 1725, leaving issue one son, viz. :—

8. Charles Sadleir, married to Abigail Grave, daughter to the Reverend

* A copy of the patent is appended.—F. S. S.

† Mr. Briggs sold Castletown to his brother-in-law, Thomas Sadleir, who left it to his second son, Charles.—F. S. S.

‡ The title of Charleville is (1877) extinct. One of the last Earls sold his share of the Sadleir property in Tipperary to his relative Lord Ashtown, of Sopwell Hall, who is therefore now the head representative of General Sadleir in the female line.—F. S. S.

Joseph Grave, of Ballycommon, in the King's County. He died 26th October, 1756, leaving an only son, viz.:—

9. Thomas Sadleir, of Castletown, county of Tipperary, and of Seapark, county of Dublin, barrister-at-law. He married (1) Rebecca Woodward, eldest daughter of William Woodward, of Cloughprior, county of Tipperary, Esq., by whom he hath issue two sons, namely—

10. Thomas, of Castletown, and the Reverend Francis Sadleir, Fellow of Trinity College, Dublin; and three daughters—viz., Anna-Maria, Sarah, and Katherine Sadleir.*

10. Thomas, the elder son, married Margaret, daughter of J. Watson, of Brook Watson, county Tipperary, and had issue five sons—Thomas, William, Henry, Edwin, and Ralph—and three daughters—Rebecca, married Daniel Falkiner, Esq.; Maria, married Thomas Brereton, Esq.; Abigail, married Rev. Ralph Stoney, M.A.

11. Thomas, the eldest son, High Sheriff of the County Tipperary, 1859, married Ellen, daughter of Owen Saunders, of Ballinderry, County Tipperary, Esq., and had issue one son:—

12. Thomas Owen Saunders Sadleir, the present representative; and five daughters—Jemima, married Richard Hacket, Esq.; Annette; Adelaide, married Frederick Falkiner, Q.C., Recorder of Dublin; Georgina, married Richard Falkiner, of Mount Falcon, County Tipperary, Esq.; and Eleanor, married John S. K. Masters, of Shrewsbury House, Shooter's Hill, Kent, Esq.†

Sadleir of Everly, County of Wilts.

2. Henry Sadleir, third son of Sir Ralph (according to the genealogy of Mr. Sadleir, of Southampton),‡ married Dorothy, daughter of — Gilbert, of Everly, and had three sons—(1) Thomas, and (2) Henry, who both died without issue; and (3) Francis.

3. Francis married Lucretia, daughter of Hercules Stourton, of Little Langford, Wilts, and had issue five sons; (1) Stourton, and (2) Henry—both died without issue—(3) Thomas, (4) Francis, (5) Giles—died without issue—and four daughters.

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* Here ends the pedigree of the Irish branch given in the Sadler State Papers.

† See Sadleir of Ballinderry, Saunders of Largay, Stoney of Kyle Park, and Falkiner of Mount Falcon (Burke's "Landed Gentry.")—F. S. S.

‡ The genealogy of the Irish branch differs widely with regard to Henry Sadleir and his descendants. According to that account, he married first Dorothy, daughter of — Gilbert, of Everly, near Hungerford, and had issue by her, Gertrude, Grace, and Helen, and two sons, Thomas and Henry; all of whom died in their infancy. He secondly married Ursula, daughter of Jo. Gill, of Wideal, by whom he had no issue.

4. Thomas, his third son, married Mary, daughter of — Draper, and had three sons—Thomas, Hercules, and Stourton.

4. Francis, fourth son of Francis, married Judith, daughter of Jerome Massell, of Steple-Langford, Wilts; and had four sons—Francis, William, Jerome, and Stourton—all living in 1694.

6. Francis, the eldest son, married Alice, daughter of Thomas Rose, of Devizes, and had two sons—Francis Ally, at Devizes, and Thomas; and one daughter, Alice, all living in 1694.

I* know not if any descendants of this branch of Sir Ralph's family be now existing.

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* The editor Sadler State Papers.

IV.

Copy of Charles II.'s Patent, conferring Land in the County Tipperary on Colonel Sadleir.*

UPON SEARCH, It appeareth that the Inrollment of the Grant remains of Record amongst the Rolls in the Rolls Office of Her Majesty's High Court of Chancery in Ireland, of which the following is an Extract:—

Charles the Second, by the Grace of God, of England, Scotland, France, and Ireland, King, Defender of the Faith, &c. To all to whom these presents shall come greeting, Know Yee that we of our Special Grace, certain knowledge, and mere mocon, by and with the advice and consent of our right trusty and right entirely beloved Cousin and Councellor James, Duke of Ormond, our Lieutenant-General and General Governor of our said Kingdom of Ireland, and, according to the tenor and effect of a certain certificate under the hands and seals of our well beloved Councellors Sir Edward Dering, Baronet, &c., our Commissioners appointed for putting in execution two Acts of Parliament lately made in our said Kingdom of Ireland, the one intituled an Act for the better execution of His Majestics gratious declaration for the settlement of his Kingdom of Ireland, and satisfaction of the several interests of adventurers, soldiers, and other his subjects there, and the other intituled an Act for the explaining of some doubts arising upon an Act intituled an Act for the better execution of his Majesty's gratious declaration, &c., bearing date the 6th day of July, in the 18th year of our reign, and in the year of our Lord, 1666, and upon the humble request of our well-beloved subject Colonel Thomas Sadler, producing and presenting the said certificate, and according to and in pursuance of the said several Acts of Parliament, Have given, granted, and confirmed, and by these presents for us, our heirs, and successors, we do give, grant, and confirm unto the said Colonel Thomas Sadler the several lands, tenements, and hereditaments following; that is to say, in Ballyvolvessa 334 acres of profitable land and 80 acres unprofitable, in Cloghbeagh 7 acres profitable land and 46 acres unprofitable, in Cuilnalagha 98 acres of land, Kilkenn, part of Lysbryan, containing 173 acres of land, Lismacrory containing 192 acres profitable land and 32 acres unprofitable, Clannan, part of Garrane, containing 163 acres of land, in Ballyvonin 128 acres of land, Farran M'Kannell, containing 49 acres profitable land and 41 acres unprofitable, in Garrane 282 acres of land, Killeonyhemmore containing 602 acres profitable land and 60 acres unprofitable,

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* I am indebted to the Hon. Charles J. Trench for a copy of this interesting document, which shews the connection between Sopwell in the county Tipperary and the old Sopwell at St. Alban's.

Killyconyheinbegg containing 94 acres profitable land and 154 acres unprofitable, Ballynchencie containing 197 acres profitable land and 72 unprofitable, Carrick (part of the same) containing 388 acres of land, Ballingarry containing 306 acres profitable land and 65 acres unprofitable, Tiplagh containing 51 acres profitable land, Rathmane containing 160 acres of land, Criragh containing 207 acres of land, Kilhualagha containing 406 acres profitable land 21 acres unprofitable, which said lands of Kilhualagha we do hereby grant and declare be for ever hereafter named and called by the name of Sopwell Hall; in Dromanure 79 acres and 2 roods of land, Lismallin containing 185 acres of land, Ballylina containing 257 acres of land, in Clarekeele 136 acres of land, in Ballybrinn 94 acres and 2 roods of land, in Gurtine 349 acres of land, all situate, lying, and being in the Barony of Lower Ormond and County of Tipperary, with the reversion and reversions, remainder and remainders, of all and singular the premises, all which said lands, tenements, and hereditaments do appear by the aforesaid certificate of our said Commissioners to have been seized, requestred, disposed, distributed, sett out, or sett apart, by reason of or upon accompt of the late horrid rebellion or war which began or broke out in our said Kingdom of Ireland upon the three and twentieth day of October, 1641, and to be thereby forfeited to and vested in us according to the true intent and meaning of the said Acts, and to the intents and uses in and by the said Acts limited, mentioned, and appointed, and the said Colonel Thomas Saddler is by the aforesaid certificate of our said Commissioners, adjudged and decreed to be by the aforesaid Acts to him and his heirs lawfully and rightfully intituled thereunto. And further of our special grace, certain knowledge, and mere motion, by and with the advice and consent aforesaid, We do by these presents for us, our heirs and successors, grant unto the said Colonel Thomas Sadler, all and singular castles, manors, messuages, mills, lofts, houses, cottages, buildings, lawnes, barnes, stables, orchards, gardens, lands, tenements, woods, underwoods, meadows, pastures, feedings, commons, common of pasture and turbary furzes, heathes, boggs, loughs, mountains, moores, marshes, ways, wastes, waters, watercourses, fishings, weares, quarries, duties, services, and all and singular other profits, commodities, rights, privileges, jurisdictions, advantages, emoluments, and hereditaments whatsoever to the said premises or to any part or parcel thereof belonging or in anywise appertaining. To have and to hold all and singular the above-mentioned lands and premises, together with their and every of their rights, members, and appurtenances whatsoever, to him, the said Colonel Thomas Sadler, his heirs and assigns for ever, to the only use, benefit, and behoof of him, the said Colonel Thomas Sadler, his heirs and assigns for ever, to be held of us, our heirs and successors, as of our Castle of Dublin, in free and common socage. Yielding and paying therefore and thereout yearly unto us, our heirs and successors, at the receipt [illegible] of Ireland for the time being, into the hands of [illegible]

acres two roods and thirty-nine perches English statute measure, the yearly rent of £75 19s. 9d. sterling, to be paid at the feast of Saint Michael the Archangel, and the Annunciation of the Blessed Virgin Mary, half-yearly, by even and equal portions, saving and hereby reserving to the said James, Duke of Ormond, his heirs and assigns, all such cheifrees, tenures, rent, and services as were of right due and belonging to him on the 22nd of October, 1640, for and out of the said lands lying in the said Barony of Lower Ormond and County of Tipperary. In witness whereof we have caused these our letters to be made patents, Witness our afore-said Lieutenant-General and General Governor of our said Kingdom of Ireland, at Dublin, the 16th day of October, in the 19th year of our reign.

Inrolled the 6th day of November, in the 19th year of his said Majesty's reign.

THOMAS BERRY, D.K.R.

THE END.

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